INFORMATION TO USERS

This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.

2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.

3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again – beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.

4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.

5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.

University Microfilms International
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 USA
St. John's Road, Tyler's Green
High Wycombe, Bucks, England HP10 8HR

FEDERAL POLICY AND THE SMALL SCHOOL DISTRICT:

A FIELD STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF THE

INDIAN EDUCATION ACT

A

THESIS

Presented to the Faculty of the

University of Alaska in partial fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

Norma Evelyn Forbes, M.S.

Fairbanks, Alaska

December 1977

FEDERAL POLICY AND THE SMALL SCHOOL DISTRICT:

A FIELD STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF THE

INDIAN EDUCATION ACT

RECOMMENDED:

Anne Shenkman

Roy Bernhardt

Larry L. Taylor

James W. Cook

Frank Farrell

Chairman, Advisory Committee

Paul Sanft Salter

APPROVED:

Paul Sanft Salter

Dean of the College of Arts & Sciences

September 21, 1977

Date

K. B. McFarlane

Vice Chancellor for Research and Advanced Study

Oct. 31, 1977

Date

ABSTRACT

The dissertation reports a field study of educational change in a small Alaskan school district, initiated by the acceptance of Indian Education Act funds. The emphasis is on the interaction between the Indian parent committee and the school personnel. The study approach is interdisciplinary, using observation and interview techniques from anthropology and more structured measures from psychology. The organization, presentation, and analysis of the data is guided by a direct change model from anthropology. The report includes brief reviews of literature on educational change and on the history of Indian education, a sociocultural history of the site, an ethnographic-type description of the current community, and an analysis of the interactional situation.

The conclusions are that change did occur in roles, statuses, communications channels and control of information, and that these changes were consistent with the intent of the authors of the Indian Education Act. It is also concluded that the directed change model made a significant contribution to the organization and analysis of the data, and that use of the model could satisfy many of the criticisms made of previous studies of educational change.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks are due the members of my advisory committee, Dr. Frank Darnell, Chairman, Director of the Center for Northern Educational Research; Dr. Ray Barnhardt, Associate Professor of Education; Dr. Anne Shinkwin, Associate Professor of Anthropology; Dr. James Orvik, Research Coordinator of the Center for Northern Educational Research; and Dr. Larry L. Naylor, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, for their aid in the completion of this dissertation. Particular recognition is due Dr. Naylor who generously contributed his model and many hours of his time--both of which made a significant difference in the nature of this dissertation. I would also like to thank my husband, Dr. Robert Forbes, whose patience and support made it possible for me to complete the task we began together so many years ago.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation concerns a study of educational change brought about by a small school district's acceptance of Indian Education Act funds. The study was done in the multicultural setting of a rural Alaskan community which I shall call Gastineau. An interdisciplinary approach was utilized, combining the theoretical orientation of both anthropology and psychology. In this approach observation and interviewing techniques were employed from anthropology for data collection, as were the more structured instruments, such as questionnaires, from psychology. For the organization, presentation and analysis of data, a directed culture change model is used, supplemented by statistical data analysis. The directed change model also guides the relation of data to theory, in this case culture change theory. The primary focus of the study is on the interaction between particular segments of the community, Indian parents and school personnel.

The site of the study is typical of the Southeastern Alaskan communities settled by Americans in the late 1800s. Situated adjacent to the site of an earlier Tlingit Indian village, the town's population is about one-fourth Tlingit, although even ten years ago the ratio of Indians to whites was much higher. Although its non-Indian population has grown rapidly in recent years, there are still fewer than 2,000 people in the area. In comparison to communities its size in other states it is rather isolated, with few communication or transportation links to larger population centers.

The opportunity to observe this case of educational change came as I was asked to do an assessment of the educational needs of Indian students in the Gastineau school district, a project funded by the Indian Education Act. Up to that time I had been working on evaluations of innovative educational programs for the International Center for Education, an organization which is substantially concerned with the study and research of educational problems particular to Indian and Eskimo children. From this work in evaluation, I had become aware of the widespread interest and need for more effective approaches to the study of educational innovation and change, and the intransigeance of the problems associated with educating Alaskan Indian and Eskimo children. This case offered the opportunity to undertake a study of educational change with a somewhat different approach to an educational problem that was both professionally important and personally interesting. That problem, the education of American Indians in the United States, has had a long and troubled history over the better part of 200 years.

In 1969 a special Senate subcommittee on Indian education concluded that the nation's policies for educating American Indians were a failure of major proportions (U.S. Senate, 1969). The subcommittee's report, better known as the Kennedy report, noted that most of the facts regarding the shockingly low quality of "virtually every aspect of the schooling available to Indian children" (Report, 1971, p. 31) had been revealed in previous reports to the federal government. In particular they referred to the Meriam report submitted 41 years earlier. Under the summary of findings on the education of Indian children, the survey staff who produced the Meriam report had stated that it found "itself

obliged to say frankly and unequivocally that the provisions for . . . Indian children . . . are grossly inadequate" (Meriam, 1928, p. 11). In the period which elapsed between the Kennedy and Meriam report there were other reports on the problems associated with Indian education, but little change had occurred. The Kennedy report noted that recommendations and efforts at reform in response to earlier reports had produced little change in Indian education. Authors of the Kennedy report also noted that although they had made a long series of recommendations geared at improving Indian education, they expected others who followed them would be shocked, as they had been, at the magnitude of the task.

One effort at reform which grew out of the 1969 Kennedy report was the enactment of Indian Education Act of 1972 (Public Law 92-318), relevant portions of which are presented in Appendix A. The objective of the Act, as stated in Section 302, is to meet the special educational needs of Indian students in the United States. Unlike most previous legislation it is intended to address the needs of Indian students in public rather than federal schools. In a special publication on Indian education, Senator Mondale, a co-sponsor of the Act, describes it as being unique in the history of legislation for Indians for two reasons: (1) "it is the expression of the wishes of many Indians rather than the wishes of whites" (Mondale, 1971, p. 2); and (2) rather than setting up new administrative machinery or providing new funds, it "attempts to change the very nature of . . . Indian Education" (ibid.). He further comments that the Act will enable Indian people to have a culturally relevant education over which they will have some control. The provision of the Act which is to provide that control and relevance states

that all programs and projects must be "planned, operated and evaluated by . . . parents of Indian children affected" (ibid., p. 35).

The provisions included in the Act's regulations which were designed to bring about that change were: (1) the creation of a committee with Indian parents constituting at least half of its membership; (2) the requirement that the parent committee be directly involved in planning, operating and evaluating any funded program or project; and, (3) the requirement for written approval by the majority of the committee of the school's application for funds (Public Law 92-318, Rules and Regulations, 1973, 186.13 & 186.17).

In order to adequately discuss the nature and purpose of this study, it is necessary to define some key terms. Following Anderson (1974), the term school reform will be used to refer to improvements in student learning. It is presumably improvements in student learning which the authors of the Act desire as the ultimate outcome of meeting the special educational needs of Indian students. The term innovation refers to modifications in the socio-cultural, physical, or organizational environment which favor new responses, a definition adapted from Woods (1975, p. 5). In this case, the innovation involves a modification in the organizational environment through the creation of an Indian parent committee which will share the decision-making power with the school administration. Change occurs, according to Woods, "when a plurality of the group learns and accepts the new response so that it becomes part of shared, habitual patterns of behavior" (ibid., p. 15). It is change used in the sense of Woods' definition to which Mondale (1971) seems to refer when he speaks of attempting to change the very nature of Indian education. His comments also imply that the criteria

by which change will be measured are control (by Indians) and cultural relevance. The change that will be discussed is an example of planned or directed change since the innovation is mandated by federal regulations upon acceptance of funds. The specific vehicle for the change occasioned in the community studied was a funded needs assessment. A needs assessment is a determination of which educational activities are perceived as necessary to meet student needs. Typically the assessed organization is under no formal obligation to follow recommendations made in needs assessments. However, the regulations of the Indian Education Act require that planning studies, such as needs assessments, be directly related to programs or projects that will be actually carried out.

Implicit in the study was the hypothesis that change of some kind would occur. It was the purpose of the study, therefore, to discover and describe the nature of that change, the process by which it occurred, and how the change related to the intent of the authors of the Indian Education Act. The central assumption upon which the study is based is that the nature of the change would be determined in the interactional process rather than solely by participant characteristics. The conclusions and recommendations reported in this dissertation are, therefore, derived from a study of directed change in an educational setting, based upon this assumption.

The change process described in this thesis does not fit the usual program plan-implementation-result paradigm of most studies of educational change. Neither program implementation nor educational outcomes were the primary interest of this study. The assumption made by the writers of the Indian Education Act was that if an Indian Parent

Committee were formed and given a share in the educational decision making, then changes in organizational and social structural features (e.g., roles and statuses) and their relationships would occur. It was the nature and extent of these changes which were of primary interest.

The study was limited to a particular time period--that of the needs assessment--and changes which occurred later were discussed only in terms of their relation to that period. Other limits of the study are discussed in somewhat more detail in the section on the application of the change model.

The interdisciplinary approach was chosen as most appropriate for a study of change. The general topic, change and innovation, has been of interest to several of the social sciences. The methods selected--participant observation, interviewing, questionnaires, and rating scales--are common to cultural anthropology, social psychology and education. Although specific disciplines emphasize some methods over others, those used are not within the exclusive domain of any one discipline. The greater emphasis on participant observation and interviewing rather than on more structured instruments does bring the study closer to anthropology's ethnographic model, although it is not an ethnography in the traditional sense. A better term by which to describe it might be field study.

The analysis of the data collected is also based on an interdisciplinary approach. Statistical analyses of questionnaires and other structured instruments associated with psychology were used to enhance and validate results derived from observation and interviewing. The major part of the analysis, however, was based on a culture change model from anthropology. The culture change model was chosen because

the process studied is an example of directed change, a process which has been extensively investigated by applied anthropologists in other cultures as well as in our own. Additionally, the model (Naylor, 1974) was appropriate because: (1) it was compatible with the characteristics of the study site, namely, the presence of several subcultures; (2) it was consistent with the theoretical orientation used in the selection of methods and measures; (3) it embodied the holistic approach which has been increasingly recommended for studies of educational innovation and change; and, (4) it emphasized the interactional aspects of the process. The particular directed change model selected was not originally designed for application in an educational setting. As with other change models, such as Foster (1969) and Niehoff (1966), its original application was to a situation where an innovation is introduced from outside the recipient culture and the direction of exchange is from a more developed to a less developed cultural group. (The model is described in Chapter 3.)

As a dissertation topic, the study can contribute to knowledge in several ways. As a case or field study of educational change, it represents one more addition to the series of field studies from which empirically grounded theoretical frameworks can be generated; as recommended by Lutz and Iannaccone (1969) and by Smith and Pohland (1974). It also provides information to federal decision makers concerned with Indian education. The study reports on the actual process which is set in motion by the acceptance of Indian Education Act funds.

Although this study is specifically applicable to Indian education, it also should be of interest to those concerned with educational change in settings which do not include Indians. For example, the

mandated participation of parent committees, required by a number of federal laws, has been of great interest to researchers; yet, according to Cibulka (1974), there is little empirical research on the subject. Interest in the effects of parent participation has also been expressed in various other reports to the federal government; e.g., "the impact of federal programs sometimes far exceeds . . . the amount of funding involved . . . the potential influence on local school governance of parent advisory committees . . . remains to be determined" (Education Commission of the States, 1974, p. ix). As a study of a particular type of educational innovation, parent committees, it makes a contribution to the literature on that subject. As a study of a contemporary bicultural community and school it provides information of a type not otherwise available in Alaskan literature.

On a more theoretical level, the use of a culture change model can contribute toward the development of a unified theory of change. As a set of theoretical relationships expressed in a pictorial representation, the model can, as Pelto suggests, facilitate "the discovery of new relationships and research directions" (Pelto, 1970, p. 14). The explicit use of a culture change model in analyzing educational change is itself novel and serves to test the applicability of the model in an educational setting.

During the three and one-half months spent in Gastineau, I simultaneously worked on the needs assessment and the study on change. The activities of both overlapped to a great extent and an explanation of how the two tasks were related is necessary. The purpose of the needs assessment, as funded, was to provide a means for determining a local definition of Indian students' needs and the activities which

could meet those needs. Undertaking this task also served several functions for this study: (1) it created a condition for directed change to occur since the acceptance of funds to support the assessment obliged the recipients to implement organizational innovation; (2) it provided an entry and interactional vehicle for me when the school chose to hire an outside agency to do the assessment; and, (3) it provided data on local perceptions, values and other factors in the community which supplied contextual information for analysis.

As in all studies using naturalistic observation, there are problems of confidentiality involved in the accurate reporting of events which occurred. In the interests of protecting the privacy of individuals and of protecting them from negative effects which might result from their being identified, pseudonyms are used for people and places mentioned in the text.

The presentation begins with the description of the Indian Education Act and its background, followed by a review of the literature on educational innovation and change. The review stresses the criticisms of previous approaches to the problem and the recommendations for future studies which influenced the choice of an interdisciplinary methodology. Following this literature review, the study methodology, procedures for gathering data, and the rationale for their choice are discussed. The model used for the organization and analysis of data is described at some length. A major portion of the methodology chapter is devoted to the culture change model since it is central to the treatment of the data, and its description is not readily available in the literature. After the description of the model itself, its elements and its relationships, the analogous elements involved in the change

process studied are identified.

The sequence of the next two chapters follows the organization of the factors of culture change as presented in the model. First, a chapter is devoted to the local participants and their characteristics. The next chapter concentrates on the interactional situation in which the characteristics of the participants combine to influence the outcome. The section on the participants is presented in two parts; one emphasizes the socio-cultural history of Gastineau which provides the context for what is seen today, and the other focuses on Gastineau today which introduces the participants in the context of the change process studied and their particular characteristics. The chapter following the presentation on participants describes the interactional situation which began when the school administrators decided to accept the Indian Education Act funds. Together the two chapters present the basic data of the study as organized by the model. The analysis and discussion follow which relate the results of the analysis to the goals of the Indian Education Act. The discussion also considers the fit of the model for change in the educational setting and how its use can benefit studies such as this. Conclusions are then drawn regarding change in the community under scrutiny, the use of the change model in the study of educational change and the achievement of the objectives of the designers of the Indian Education Act.

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND OF THE INDIAN EDUCATION ACT

History of Indian Education

As early as the 1600s missionaries in what is now the eastern United States were attempting to educate the Indian. This education took the form of training in European manners, morals, skills and, most of all, religion in institutionalized settings ranging from working-farm schools to colleges such as William and Mary, and Harvard. After the American Revolution, treaties between the young American federal government and defeated Indian tribes frequently included provisions for education of Indians. Funding to support the agreed-upon education, however, tended to be uncertain, and the bulk of Indian education before the 1800s was handled by missionaries. In 1819 Congress made what was to have been an annual appropriation for the education of frontier Indian tribes, but the churches continued to play a major role.

Even before the Civil War there were a number of people who were interested in the welfare of Indians and wished to see them integrated into national life (Spicer, 1972). By the end of the Civil War a public movement based on these interests, which Spicer refers to as the "Indigenismo" movement, had emerged and was beginning to make itself felt by the federal government. Reformers of federal Indian policy, supported by the Indigenismo movement, campaigned for the education of Indians as a vehicle for assimilation. In response, the

federal government assumed responsibility for Indian education and established a number of off-reservation boarding schools. A fundamental assumption held by members of the movement and by the federal government was that fuller participation and satisfactory integration into national life could only come about if Indians abandoned their traditional ways of life. Spicer points out that the Indigenismo movement was not founded or guided by Indians and therefore did not reflect the desires of Indians themselves. Federal policies, such as allotment of lands to individual Indians, and the proliferation of boarding schools, reflected the strong emphasis on assimilation in the movement in its first phase.

The second phase of the movement in the 1920s came as a reaction to the visible evidence that poverty and family disorganization were on the increase among Indians. The second phase, as had the first phase, aimed at further integration of Indians into national life, but the policies it supported reflected the influence of John Collier, one of its leaders who was later to serve as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, as well as increased contact between members of the movement and Indian leaders. A new feature of the movement, which developed in the 1920s, was the growth of associations composed of and led by Indians.

The 1928 Meriam report, sponsored by the Brookings Institution, was in response to the desire for real knowledge of Indian life and problems which accompanied the movement's second phase. As influential and beneficial as the Meriam report was on federal policies for the Indian, its orientation, according to Spicer, was primarily one of social welfare within the framework of the dominant culture, not a reflection of how the Indians themselves saw their interests. However, following the Meriam report's recommendations, the federal government

did reverse the land policy which had resulted in the loss of much Indian land, shifted emphasis from boarding schools to day schools, and initiated a program of active encouragement of community and tribal organization.

Although some Indian children had attended public schools before that time, the federal government did not begin to contract with public schools for the education of Indian children until 1891. The number of Indian children attending public schools grew rapidly and by 1928 nationwide there were more Indian children in public schools than in federal schools. The number increased at an even more rapid rate over the next forty years and by 1970 65 percent of all Indian students were in public schools (Szasz, 1974). Although the increase was a result of many factors other than federal policy, the placement of Indian children in public schools was "commended" by the 1928 Meriam report and received strong support when Carson Ryan, a contributor to that report, became Education Director for the Indian Bureau in 1930.

Under Collier's administration, it was Carson Ryan who was primarily responsible for the Johnson O'Malley Act of 1934, which made it possible for the Secretary of Interior to enter into contracts with any state or territory for the education of Indian children rather than having to negotiate directly with each local school district. Johnson O'Malley Act funds, as previous federal funds had been, were issued to the states to be included in their general operating funds for Basic Education. The funds were used as tuition payments to compensate for loss of taxes by state and local governments due to the presence of non-taxable reservation land. Although Getches (1976) suggests that Johnson O'Malley funds were intended for supplementary programs for

Indians rather than for basic education as early as the 1930s, it was not until the 1950s that Johnson O'Malley regulations were revised to reflect that purpose.

In the 1950s, Public Law 874 and Public Law 815 contributed additional funds to those public schools serving Indian children. As originally passed in 1950, Public Law 874 had excluded Indian children, but in 1958 Congress decided to allow eligible school districts to receive payments under both Public Law 874 and the Johnson O'Malley Act and revised Johnson O'Malley Act regulations to limit use of its funds to meeting educational problems under extraordinary or exceptional circumstances. With the inclusion of Indian children under Public Law 874 the justification for using Johnson O'Malley Act funds for basic support disappeared but, in fact, school districts continued to do so. Szasz (1974) points out that although the federal government had been contributing to the support of Indian pupils in public schools since 1891, in 1965 the primary recipients were still the state education systems and not the Indian students. As recently as 1975, congressional hearings revealed that most Johnson O'Malley Act funds nationally were still being used to meet school districts' basic needs (Getches, 1976).

The fifteen-year period between 1950 and 1965 was marked by drastically accelerating growth and change in the U.S. Office of Education after three-quarters of a century of relative stability (Bailey, 1970). At the end of that period the results of Sputnik effects, the social policies of the Kennedy administration, and the Johnson administration's war on poverty had been to firmly establish the role of federal categorical aid to all public education. Sundquist (1970) says that by 1965, "the question would be, henceforth, not whether the

national government should give aid but how much it should give, for what purposes--and with how much federal control . . . and it is safe to predict that the trend will not be reversed" (p. 350). The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, which has been cited as the greatest landmark in the history of federal aid to education (Bailey, 1970), provides funds under Title I for supplementary educational services for poor and educationally deprived children. According to Yudof (1971), virtually all Indian children qualify for assistance under Title I of this act. Title I's distinctive contribution to the history of federal aid to education is that it recognizes that poor and deprived children, such as Indians, may need more services and more dollars to reach the same level of educational achievement as their middle-class fellow students.

The 1928 Meriam report had included strong criticisms of the federal government for the harsh discipline and generally poor treatment of Indian students in boarding schools, for not supplying curricula suited to Indian needs, for the lack of content culturally relevant to Indians, for poorly qualified personnel, for underfunding and for not encouraging the participation of Indian parents in the education of their children. Forty-one years later the report of Senator Robert Kennedy's Indian Education committee listed essentially the same criticisms of federal schools for Indians and documented the misuse by public schools of federal funds which had been intended to improve the education of Indian children. The report says members of Kennedy's committee were shocked by the conditions they found during their investigation. Some responsibility for conditions can be placed on the Congress, which in the 1950s enacted legislation designed to rid the federal government

of its obligations to the Indians. Most of the responsibility was placed on the administrations of federal and public schools attended by Indians. The report of Senator Kennedy's committee included a number of recommendations designed to begin the task of bringing quality education to Indian children and redress some of the wrongs of previous years. As indicated earlier, the Indian Education Act of 1972, sponsored by Senators Edward Kennedy and Walter Mondale, owed its origins to the report of the Senate committee which Robert Kennedy had chaired. While the Kennedy Report had criticized both federal and public school education for Indian children, the Indian Education Act affected only education in public schools. The bill set a precedent for Indian control. Parental and community participation was made mandatory, and school districts were to share actual decision-making control over funds with the Indians. The bill also recognized the existence of off-reservation Indians and gave them a voice in the education of their children. Part A of the Indian Education Act provided impact-aid type funds to school districts based on the number of Indian children enrolled, while Part B authorized a series of grant programs to stress culturally relevant and bilingual curriculum materials.

The Federal Government in Alaska

The history of the federal role in education for Indians and other indigenous peoples of Alaska is somewhat different from that of the rest of the United States. Prior to the American purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867 there were a few schools for mixed blood Natives maintained by the Russian Orthodox church, and these continued in operation for almost twenty years after the sale (Hopkins, 1972). The

United States did little to establish governmental structures or services in the early years of its ownership of Alaska. The first American schools for Natives were established by the missionaries in the late 1800s. Through the manipulation of the enterprising Dr. Sheldon Jackson, a Presbyterian minister and the first Agent for Education of Alaska, these schools were subsidized by the federal government. Later the federal government passed legislation against subsidizing mission schools, and by 1917 the U.S. Bureau of Education was administering schools for Native Alaskans. In 1931 the schools were turned over to the Interior Department's Bureau of Indian Affairs and a number of rural schools remain under the Bureau of Indian Affairs control at the present time. Most rural Alaskan Natives were educated in schools operated by the state or federal government and only recently have they begun to gain control over their children's schools comparable to the control held by white urban parents (Darnell, Hecht and Orvik, 1974).

The current status of Alaskan Natives cannot be fully understood without reference to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971. Although it was not legislation for education, the Claims Settlement Act affects education as it does almost every other aspect of life for the Alaskan Natives. Under the terms of the Claims Settlement Act, the Natives agreed to relinquish their aboriginal claims to land in Alaska. In return they received fee simple title to 40 million acres of land and a compensation of $962.5 million, to be paid over a number of years (Arnold, 1976).

As important as the amount of benefits was the way in which benefits would accrue to the Natives, through business corporations. Each Native would become a stockholder in a regional corporation and,

in most cases, a village corporation as well. The regional corporations would have subsurface rights to selected lands. Villages such as Hochna, the Indian village near Gastineau, which were located on pre-existing reserves, could choose to acquire title to their former reserve with both surface and subsurface rights but would then lose the right to other benefits under the act.

The stockholders in the corporations could not sell stock or transfer rights for twenty years. Regional corporations must be profit-making organizations. As a result of these provisions a large number of jobs were created which were under the direct control of the Natives themselves. While the actual in-hand financial gain from benefits to any Native individual was small, the control of the land and its resources resulted in tremendous economic powers for Natives as a group. The control over land and its resources gave them control of heretofore unknown sanctions in dealing with non-Native individuals and groups. They could reward or punish non-Natives by providing or restricting access to land and resources. They also had great potential buying power. This new economic power rapidly translated itself into political power and the status of the Alaskan Native in relation to the Alaskan non-Native underwent a major change. All of this was not accomplished without generating a certain amount of hostility from the non-Natives who, quite understandably, resented losing any portion of their super-ordinate position. The Claims Settlement arrangements for the Indians of Southeastern Alaska were somewhat different, but the important effects, creation of jobs and power, were the same as for other Alaskan Natives.

Multicultural Education

In regard to Indian control of their children's education, Gastineau--the site of this study--represents a situation more common in Western states other than Alaska as Indian children attend a locally (borough) controlled public school where they are in the minority. Until the passage of the Indian Education Act the needs of non-reservation Indian children, such as those in Gastineau, had received little attention from the federal government. Although they were often included in the group of poor and deprived children who were eligible for special programs under Title I of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, their needs as Indians were not recognized. With the passage of the Indian Education Act, funds became available for a variety of programs, including Indian studies programs. The regulations of the Act, quoted below, specifically call for programs which "build upon . . . the heritage . . . of the community," a reversal of past federal policy of support for assimilation.

> In designing a program which meets the special educational needs of the Indian children to be served, the local educational agency (after consultation with the parent committee and the Indian community) must consider the inclusion of activities which build upon and support the heritage, traditions, and lifestyle of the community being served. The determination of those needs shall include consideration of such instructional or supportive services, activities, and experiences as the following:
>
> (a) Instructional services, activities and experiences.--
>
> (1) Arts (music, graphics, etc.);
>
> (2) Language arts, including speech therapy, reading and language instruction such as bilingual or English as a second language programs;
>
> (3) Vocational and industrial arts;
>
> (4) Mathematics and natural science;
>
> (5) Social sciences and humanities;

(6) Physical education

(7) Cultural enrichment

(b) Supportive activities, services or experiences—

(1) Academic guidance, counseling and testing

(2) Use of dormitory and recreation facilities

(3) Food and clothing

(4) Medical and dental care

(5) Psychological or psychiatric testing and care

(6) Social work services

(7) Pupil transportation

(8) Special services for physically handicapped and mentally retarded children.

(Indian Education Act Rules and Regulations, 1973)

Indian studies programs are a part of a larger group of programs under the rubric of multicultural education programs. State as well as federal laws have provided for bilingual education, ethnic studies and bicultural programs which are included under multicultural education. The proliferation and variety of multicultural programs in recent years has led to some confusion. In an effort to increase conceptual clarity, Gibson (1976) has distinguished five approaches to multicultural education in the United States and the assumptions, objectives and target populations which characterize each. She recognizes that the approaches overlap but discusses them separately for the purposes of analysis.

According to views expressed by its various supporters, the Indian Education Act could fit under any or all of three of Gibson's categories--evidence of the conceptual confusion regarding multicultural education which inspired Gibson's paper. The Act could be classified as "Education of the Culturally Different or Benevolent Multiculturism," the first approach described in Gibson's article. Its stated purpose is to equalize educational opportunity for Indian students. It was

generated by the recognition of the continuing academic failure of Indian students (as in the 1969 Senate subcommittee report) and the rejection of the cultural and genetic deficit hypotheses regarding Indian students' failures. However, it does not reject sociological deficit hypotheses since it supports remedial programs designed to compensate for presumed deficits in home environment. Gibson states one of the key assumptions underlying this first approach is that culturally different children face unique learning handicaps in schools dominated by mainstream values.

The second approach, which might include the Indian Education Act, has as its target population all students. Its intent is to promote respect for cultural difference, encourage pride in one's heritage, and decrease racism by presenting multicultural programs. Both educators and many Indians support this approach because it dignifies the Indians' cultural contribution by its assumption that non-Indians as well as Indians can profit from learning another culture, and because it desegregates Indian studies programs. The assumption that multicultural education can decrease racism and increase ethnic pride without accompanying changes in the existing social order is an attractive one, but not yet proven.

The third approach is most commonly supported by the more militant members of an Indian community. It seeks programs which will maintain cultural differences and, therefore, cultural boundaries. Its target population is Indian students and it seeks to arrest the acculturation and assimilation processes.

In order to understand the effects of legislation which supports change in education for minority people, it is necessary to appreciate

the role which majority group members have played in the passage of such legislation. Anthropologists such as Foster have expressed interest in the part played by the characteristics of such "innovators" in change situations.

> Today we are beginning to realize that knowledge about the social and cultural forms of the innovating organization, about the structure and functions of bureaucratic institutions, is just as essential as knowledge about recipient people to successful planned change. (Foster, 1969, p. 91)

The Innovators

Although the development of the Indian Education Act legislation was influenced by demands of Indian organizations throughout the United States, much of the direct influence on the legislation was from members of what will be referred to as the innovator group. As in Foster's (1969) discussion of directed change, the innovator organization includes a "budgeted, staffed and created bureaucracy" whose members may be considered part of the subcultural group on the basis of shared beliefs and attitudes.

Well-defined structural linkages and communication channels exist between this federal bureaucracy and members of University staffs who are involved in teaching, administration, or research in education (the academic educators). Those academic educators who are involved in research or in development are to a great extent economically dependent on the federal bureaucrats. In turn, academic educators inform and influence the voting public through classrooms and the media about the need for federal programs to solve the nation's social problems, thereby supplying political support necessary to perpetuate the bureaucracy and support its employees. The social structure, based on shared

professionalism among other things, can easily be observed at social events involving the educators and the bureaucrats, where exchanges are made, such as "Whatever happened to ____?" or "Where is ____ now?" These remarks make it clear that a social network independent of locality exists. Administrators from private philanthropic foundations, who also supply funds for academic educators, are also members of the innovator group. Members of the innovator group often pass from the category of bureaucrat to academic educator and back again, and there is a general sharing of information between the groups. The background information supplied on the jackets of many books written on educational or social reform bears testimony to the existence of this innovator social network since many of the authors have passed from employment in the government to the foundations or to the universities, and back again, at one or another points in their careers, e.g., Kirst (1970).

The members of the innovator group share a core of common assumptions and beliefs, some of which have shifted perceptibly in the last thirty years. For example, there has been a shift from the belief in the assimilation of minority groups into the dominant culture, to a belief in cultural diversity as a basis for the strength of American political and social order. There is a strong belief in the role of education in providing social and economic mobility for minority and immigrant groups in the nation, although this has recently been questioned by such accepted authorities as Jencks (1972), Spring (1976), and Greer (1972). Jencks questions whether education provides either a necessary or sufficient condition for equal opportunity for minorities. Spring and Greer put forth convincing arguments that schools are, and were in the past, a powerful force for maintaining social and economic

status quo. In spite of these arguments, the majority of innovators continue to see education as providing mobility for minorities.

The belief in the obligation of the educational system to provide opportunities for minorities is paired with the belief that education, in and of itself, is capable of producing equality in our society. A further, although less firmly held, belief is that financial aid, from whatever source, will make it possible for the schools to accomplish this end. A basic assumption of this innovator group is that change is good and there is a need for change in the educational system. Foster (1969) cites other beliefs which are shared by bureaucrats and professional educators; e.g., one person's success does not jeopardize another's opportunities, competent people appear in all socioeconomic strata, given enough education all problems can be solved, and that the change agent's role is that of a catalyst, to stimulate the people to meet, plan and take action. Academic educators, e.g., members of universities and educational research groups, also believe that all educators have an obligation to support programs which purport to further the welfare of the minority group members.

Belief in the efficacy and moral superiority of participatory democracy is another shared belief. The legislation of Lyndon Johnson's "War on Poverty" included provisions for advisory committees made up from target groups. Their inclusion in the decision-making processes was based on Lewin's research during World War II which showed, for example, that factory workers who shared in decision making improved and maintained improved production rates. While an occasional critic questions the generalizability of Lewin's results, authors of legislation for social programs, including the Indian Education Act, continue

to include provisions for citizen groups and have raised their role from advisory to shared or complete control of programs.

Increasingly, over the past fifteen years, members of the innovator group have recruited from the better educated and more acculturated segments of minority groups. The staff on the national, state and local levels which administrates the Indian Education Act, Johnson O'Malley funds and other federally funded social programs for Indians, includes a number of persons of Indian ancestry. On the state and local level these transitional people serve a role as "brokers" which, in the past, was played by traders and missionaries but which has been increasingly taken over by more acculturated Indians. On the federal level, as well, the role of the broker between the Indian community and the dominant society is passing from the hands of non-Indians who frequently had adopted the cause of the Indians as their own, e.g., John Collier, to Indians who are bicultural or acculturated to the dominant society to some degree. The regulations promulgated by the bureaucracy staffed by these Indians are usually a fusion of practices of both cultures and may or may not be compatible with the more traditional values of the local Indian community.

Change in educational systems over the past twenty years has been mandated by the judicial as well as the legislative branch of the federal government. The best known judicial decision, and the one with the widest impact, was Brown vs. Topeka which provided the legal precedent for desegregation of schools. As important as they were, the series of judicial decisions dealing with desegregation of schools had relatively little impact per se on Indian students since the majority of Indian pupils in the public school system attended non-segregated

schools while the remainder attended schools segregated by geographical isolation. The decisions did, however, reflect a climate of concern over the rights of minorities and their failure to join the "mainstream of American culture." With the growing recognition that the "melting pot" ideal of previous years had not been translated into social reality, there was a swing toward a national goal of strength through diversity. At the same time there was a rising tide of Indian militancy and interest in self-determination which continues into the present.

The Indian Education Act reflects the political climate of the '60s and '70s with its emphasis on Indian control of Indian education and the recognition it extends to off-reservation Indians. Part A of the Act, which provides impact-aid type funds based on the number of Indian students enrolled, reflects the trend toward categorical aid. Part B, which authorizes grant programs to stress culturally relevant and bilingual curriculum materials, responds to the many recommendations which have been made over the years for cultural relevance in education for Indian children. The Act represents a major legislative effort to bring about change in education. As such, it is one of many pieces of legislation created in recent years in response to social problems in the United States.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH IN EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

Planned or directed change has come to be primarily associated with government organizations, both national and international, created in response to the problems of society. As Sarason points out (1971, p. 7), there are few, if any, major social problems for which explanations and solutions do not in some way involve the public school, so it is not surprising that educational change has attracted so much attention, or that the federal government has been identified as the external force promoting most of that change (Gittell, Hollander, & Vincent, 1970, p. 67).

While the federal government is the major force for change today, educational researchers had been studying innovation and change well before the federal Office of Education began its period of accelerated growth and influence in 1950. Since the 1930s there has been an increasing body of literature on educational change, with a particularly rapid increase in studies after 1962. For example, Rogers and Shoemaker reviewed three times as many studies in their 1971 survey of the field as had Rogers in 1962. In all of these change studies, considerable effort has been expended in attempts to identify variables influencing the introduction, implementation and institutionalization of innovations.

Early studies dealt primarily with the diffusion process and

with characteristics of school systems such as size, financing, and the percentage of college-educated parents in the community. Paul Mort and his colleagues at Columbia were leaders in the field and their interests tended to shape its early development. Over the years the major emphases have been on sources of innovation, identification of innovators, and on the diffusion process as well as on characteristics of innovators, innovating organizations and the innovation itself, which have been associated with success or failure. This adoption-diffusion approach (Manning, 1973) has its roots in rural sociology and the study of innovative agricultural practices.

Carlson's (1964), Rogers' and Shoemaker's (1971), and Hearn's (1970) studies are currently among the most widely quoted of studies using the adoption-diffusion approach. Their studies deal with the communication network involved in diffusion, the innovating administrator's position in that network, his sociometric status, and his personal characteristics. In general, innovative administrators are described by Manning (1974) as more cosmopolitan than non-innovators, better educated, more likely to have been born in rural areas, to have moved more often, to have had more experience, and to have a higher level of interaction with others. Organizational characteristics related to a higher rate of adoption of educational innovations are larger size (Rogers, 1962; Hearn, 1970), urban location, higher financial support (Bigelow, 1947), more democratic governance, and a higher rate of previous innovations (Hearn, 1970).

Studies of individual factors which promote or discourage innovation have been criticized by Baldridge and Deal (1975) as giving little practical assistance to the administrator involved in innovation.

They point out that such studies often focus on characteristics of individuals, neglect organizational features, emphasize non-manipulatable factors, and neglect policy implications. They prefer the systems analysis approach in use in a number of more recent studies of innovation in educational and other institutions. Systems analysis concerns the relationships between elements of a system. Derived from systems theory, it emphasizes the mutual influence of all relevant variables within the system being studied, e.g., kinship systems, political systems, or organizational systems (Hunter & Whitten, 1976). The systems analysis approach in turn has its critics. Oettinger and Marks (1969, p. 55) write that the conditions which made systems analysis a useful technique are noticeably absent in our educational system. It is not independent enough of other systems; it does not have well-designed research and design tools; and its objectives are not explicit enough.

In spite of the attention the problem of change has received, particularly since 1960, there can be little doubt that school reform has not been achieved, and critics of education continue to call for change. As previously defined (p. 4), school reform is improvement in student learning, innovation is modifications which favor new responses, and change is the acceptance of new responses into habitual patterns of behavior. Mort's (1964) comments on the fifty-year period which typically lapses between the introduction of an innovation and the establishment of change are frequently quoted. However, some authorities feel that the rate of change in the '60s and '70s has accelerated (Baldridge & Deal, 1975, p. 2; Corwin, 1973, p. 1). Nevertheless, social critics, the general public, and minority groups continue to criticize the educational system and decry its inability to make

meaningful reforms. For example, a recent professional newspaper starts out its front page article, "The nation's youth never seem to be learning as and what it should be. The press and the public . . . demand to know why and whom to blame" (Jones, 1977). House (1974), one of the best known of current authorities on educational change, assigns the blame for the failure of federally mandated change to the use of the "research, development, diffusion" paradigm of educational change which, he believes, does not reflect the political and organizational realities in education. The public and many of the social critics blame teachers and administrators, usually on the basis of a variety of characterological and intellectual deficiencies which educators are assumed to possess (Sarason, 1971, p. 9). A smaller number of critics feel that the characteristics of entrenched institutions, such as the need for organizational equilibrium, are primarily to blame (Corwin, 1973, xiii). Most of the above critics are pessimistic about real reform being achieved without revolutionary changes in personnel or organizational structure, neither of which is likely.

A more optimistic view might be that reform has not been achieved because we have insufficient knowledge about the innovation and change processes in educational organizations. This viewpoint implies at least that greater knowledge will improve our ability to predict and control change. Miles (1964) remarked that "we do not know with any clarity or precision about almost every imaginable aspect of innovation in education" (p. 40). In 1974, Anderson wrote (in reference to Miles' statement),

> . . . since that time the situation has changed somewhat but not a great deal. Little is known about schools as social organizations, about the structure and functioning of the overall

> educational enterprise and specifically about the process and dynamics of planned educational change. (p. 259)

Sarason (1971), a clinical psychologist who (atypically) has concerned himself with schools and their culture states that

> . . . we know far less about the actual functioning of schools and school systems than we have realized . . . our past efforts to change and improve our schools have been less than successful in part because we thought we knew that we needed to know about the actual functioning of these complex organization. (p. 230)

The consensus regarding the lack of knowledge about the educational change process is particularly interesting in view of the flood of studies of change and innovation in the educational literature. However, the methodology of those studies is frequently questionable from the viewpoint of the social scientist. Gross, Giacquinta and Bernstein (1971), for example, are particularly critical in their review of the literature on planned educational change. They say that educational studies are typically highly subjective accounts which offer no supporting evidence, and those studies which do offer evidence have used questionable instruments and poor sampling procedures.

Educational research on change is also criticized for the limited scope of its concerns. Hilfiker (1970) points out that "little attention has been given to the social or psychological characteristics . . . and how these characteristics might affect a given innovation" (p. 27). Anderson (1974) comments on the limited knowledge about the social organization and culture of schools. In Moynihan and Moestler (1972), Coleman is quoted as stating that one of the major reasons that research in education has failed to produce results leading to improved practices is that research has been unable to take into account important interactions among many variables, inside and outside schools,

that influence pupil development. The Ford Foundation's (1972) evaluation of the limited success of its Comprehensive School Improvement program points out the need to "look beyond the manipulation of variables within the school, and reckon more directly with outside factors such as financing, parental expectations and local social and political pressures" (p. 40). Sarason (1971) considers a major barrier to our understanding of school change to be "the lack of systematic, comprehensive and objective description of the natural history of the change process in the school" (p. 21). His further discussions of the topic make it clear that by "description" he means something much closer to an ethnography than to the usual description of the school.

Much of the demand in the 1970s for increased depth and breadth in studies of schools undergoing change seems to have been a reaction to the failures of the ambitious federal programs of the '60s. There had been earlier critics, such as Bidwell in 1965, who called for studies using "direct observations, informants and the analysis of documents . . . phenomenological data" (p. 1018). However, for the most part, the shift in emphasis from the adoption-diffusion approach to systems analysis, to the current interest in a more holistic approach, can be traced to increased recognition of the need for assessing the total context of educational change efforts in order to understand the failures of the past ten years.

Paralleling these trends within education has been an increasing interest in education within anthropology. Although anthropologists include education as a part of the total enculturation process, until recently there has been remarkably little attention paid to it in the anthropological literature. Perhaps this neglect is because those

notable example is the use of anthropologists in the National Institute of Education's Experimental Schools Project. Anthropologists involved in the Experimental Schools Project, and others, argue for the importance of anthropology to education, primarily on the basis of anthropology's holistic "view of the world"; a view primarily, if not exclusively, claimed by anthropology among the social sciences. Spindler (1974(a)) writes that anthropology's "diversity of interests, skills, and knowledge is one of the primary assets of anthropology and makes anthropological analysis different from those of psychology and sociology . . . the transcultural perspective is also a special feature of anthropology" (p. vii). However, it is anthropology's holistic perspective which "encourage(s) researchers to relate each school system, each school and each classroom to the broader social and cultural contexts in which it exists" (Sindell, 1969, p. 593) that is most frequently cited as justification for the new importance of anthropology in studies of education, and particularly of educational change.

Participant observation and interviewing are the two mainstays of field-work in anthropology although they are not peculiar to anthropology alone (Wolcott, 1975(a), pp. 121, 122). As Lutz and Iaconne (1969) point out, field techniques, such as participant observation and interviewing, are not new in education; case studies have been used for many years to investigate problems in school districts. However, they distinguish the case study from studies using anthropological field techniques as being atheoretical, centering on only one aspect of a school district and lacking description of the larger flow of events within it.

As Wolcott (1975(a)) points out, an anthropological approach

exotic societies which anthropologists preferred to study were not likely to have formal institutions for the enculturation of their children. While Hewett's 1905 paper, "Ethnic Factors in Education," is frequently cited as evidence of anthropology's interest in education, there was in fact little anthropological research done on education until the 1950s.

A problem which continually recurs when discussing education and anthropology is the definition of the term education. Even within the group of anthropologists most closely associated with education and anthropology, the term education has widely divergent definitions. Gearing (1975) uses education to describe "the full array of regularly recurring face-to-face interchanges through which all salient items from the community's full pool of cognitively organized information is distributed . . . among members of the community across the generations" (p. 3). Singleton (1974) defines education as cultural transmission. Spindler's (1963) definition of education as culture process is similar to Singleton's. Naylor presents a more carefully defined version which restricts the term education to the institutionalized form of "culturation." Culturation being the transmission of culture, which includes both enculturation and acculturation (Naylor, 1976). It is this last definition of education which will be used in this study. Restricting education to the above definition does not exclude study of informal culturation (e.g., socialization) which may also occur within the same institutionalized setting but does not treat it as education.

The current interest in a broader approach to studies of change has brought anthropologists into a new area of interaction with education, namely, evaluation of federally funded innovations. The most

"is not the answer to educational research, any more than is any other approach" (p. 116). However, it can answer the need cited in preceding pages, for better information on the social organization and culture of schools, on the effects of factors outside the school and, in general, for a more holistic approach. In the method and theory utilized in this study, a test of that position is made.

CHAPTER III

THEORY, METHOD AND TECHNIQUES

Methodology, as discussed in this section, refers to theoretical orientation or "ways of selecting, conceptualizing and ordering data" (Kaplan & Manners, 1972, p. 34). Pelto (1970) uses the term methodology rather than theoretical orientation, but the point of view he expresses is the same although he makes a further distinction between methodology and research techniques used.

> . . . methodology can be distinguished from research techniques in that the latter term is useful for referring to the pragmatic problems of primary data collection, while methodology denotes the 'logic-in-use' involved in selecting particular observational techniques, assessing their yield of data, and relating the data to theoretical propositions. (p. 4)

As indicated in the Introduction, the theoretical orientation of this study is interdisciplinary, selecting techniques from social psychology, sociology, and cultural anthropology. The basic assumption which underlies both data gathering and data analysis is that the school, the students, and the teachers do not exist in a social vacuum; they are part of a larger cultural and social milieu, and in order to explain the success or failure of educational change, one must have access to the total social and cultural context.

While the expressed assumption might find acceptance in any of the social sciences, the holistic approach it implies has been traditionally associated with anthropology. The holistic approach focused attention on the cultural patterns, values, expectations and norms for

acceptable behavior of the groups involved in the change process. Of those groups involved, the Indian Parent Committee, the school personnel, the school board, and the high school students of the study committee were identified as key groups. Other representatives, such as Indian parents who were not members of the Parent Committee, non-Indian parents, and select individuals in the community political structure, were seen in secondary roles as their needs and desires affected members of key groups.

Although the holistic approach, as well as the primary research techniques selected for this study, are typical of most ethnographies, it should be emphasized that it is not intended to be an ethnography in the traditional sense. Neither the time allotted nor the circumstance allowed for the total involvement necessary for an ethnographic account. As a case study, loosely based on the ethnographic model, it is probably best described by Wolcott's term "field study" (Wolcott, 1975(b), p. 20). As he noted, there is "a need for more than one label so that educational researchers who use one or more [anthropological] fieldwork techniques but have no intention of, or opportunity for, producing a full-blown ethnographic account do not have to claim to be 'ethnographers' simply because no better label exists" (ibid.).

Although there is a great deal of overlap between the social sciences in research techniques, individual disciplines do tend to accept some techniques as more valid and reliable than others. The field study, with its emphasis on participant observational techniques, is generally more acceptable to anthropologists since these techniques are the core of fieldwork in that discipline. Participant observation is less utilized in psychology--as is discussed in Scott and Wertheimer

(1962, pp. 71, 72)--because its use presents greater problems with validity and reliability than techniques more compatible with psychology's experimental manipulation approach. Scott and Wertheimer observe that psychology seems to be preoccupied with "being scientific" (ibid., p. 10) and with specifying how one goes about being scientific. This concern with being scientific is illustrated by a table presented in Marx and Hillix (1963, p. 34), showing a hierarchy of science(s); from pure science (physics), through the biological sciences, then the behavioral science (psychology), and, finally, to the social sciences (sociology and anthropology). However, in the last ten years there has been a swing away from the more narrowly focused methods which fit the experimental approach to naturalistic observation. Furthermore, such studies as Rosenthal's (1966) on experimenter effects have clearly illustrated that experimental designs and quantifiable measures, in and of themselves, cannot guarantee "truth."

At the same time, anthropologists have given increasing recognition to the problems of reliability and validity by specifying two methods by which these problems might be resolved: the recognition and description of personal and professional bias which might affect the perception of events observed, and the utilization of a greater variety of techniques in field work where appropriate and feasible. The inclusion of a section on personal and role attributes of the field worker has developed in response to the first requirement. The second requirement has been fulfilled in this presentation by an adaptation of Campbell's multitrait-multimethod approach (Campbell and Fiske, 1959). The basic argument for the multitrait-multimethod approach, as presented by Campbell, is, "Once a proposition has been confirmed by two or more

independent measurement processes, the uncertainty of its interpretation is greatly reduced" (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, & Seachrest, 1966, p. 3). Smith and Pohland (1974), an educational psychologist and an educator who have frequently used an approach modeled on ethnography, discuss at length their support for an adaptation of a multi-measure approach based on Campbell's recommendations. They feel their approach--which uses observation, interviewing, and collection of documents in multiple situations with a number of different persons involved--has "fundamental logical commonalities with Campbell and Fiske" (p. 47), and serves to reduce method variance.

From within Campbell's own discipline, psychology, there has developed widespread support for the multitrait-multimethod approach. The use of Campbell's concepts represent a major theme in Brislin, Lonner, and Thorndike's recent (1975) text on cross-cultural research methods. Behavioral scientists from other disciplines have also recommended this type of approach. Pelto (1970), an anthropologist, concludes, "Examining cultural behavior with a variety of different approaches greatly enhances the credibility of research results" (p. 145). Wax (1970), a sociologist, recommends:

> The basic methodological approach has to be community study type of research, including participant observation . . . this approach does not preclude survey sample techniques and the use of structured instruments but it subordinates these to an ethnographic familiarity with the social situation. (p. 7)

These recommendations contributed to the decision to combine the theoretical orientations of psychology and anthropology in an interdisciplinary approach to an educational problem.

Culture Change Theory

Culture change has been defined as " . . . any modification in the way of life of a people, whether consequent to internal developments or to contact between two peoples with unlike ways of life" (Woods, 1975, p. 1). The term "ways of life" suggests that the definition is meant to include social as well as cultural change. Social change refers to behavioral changes in the interactions between individuals, while cultural change refers to changes in the models people carry in their heads for perceiving, relating to, and interpreting the world around them (Spindler, L., 1977, p. 4). The two concepts are interdependent, and both social and cultural changes were of interest in this study. The use of the term (sociocultural) change also includes the distinction between innovation and change which was made in the Introduction, i.e., that innovation refers to the introduction of a new thought, behavior or thing, while change occurs when the innovation is adopted and becomes characteristic of the group.

Culture change theory, as presented by Spindler (ibid., pp. 8, 9), involves the following premises: (1) that the parts of a sociocultural system are functionally interrelated, (2) that sociocultural systems are in relative equilibrium with room for dysfunction and change, (3) that such systems are adaptive and when the introduction of new ideas or things disrupts parts of the system, adaptive changes are conceived as occurring in other parts, (4) that these systems adapt to stimuli both from within and from without, and (5) when the parts of a sociocultural system are no longer interrelated and the system exhibits no tendency toward stabilization, it will cease to function. Spindler's

discussion of change also points out that it occurs on three levels--the cultural, the social, and the individual.

There is no unified theory of sociocultural change which is generally accepted at the present time by anthropologists and other social scientists, although Spindler's grand model is a major contribution. There are, however, what she calls mini-models which deal with "relatively limited relationships between selected processes" (ibid., p. 9). These mini-models focus on certain change processes and certain approaches for analyzing and securing data. Two of the processes which Spindler lists as possible sources of change are diffusion and acculturation. Diffusion is the process by which one sociocultural system acquires parts of another. It can occur whether or not the two sociocultural systems are in proximity to one another and usually involves individual traits or complexes. Acculturation also refers to change involving the effect of one sociocultural system on another; however, in acculturation the two systems are in close and continuous contact with one another. It is a more total process which can bring about major reorganization of one or both cultures within a fairly short period of time.

One of the more familiar mini-models of acculturation is Spicer's (1961), which makes the distinction between directed and non-directed change. Directed change, according to Spicer, requires effective control of some type by one cultural group over the other, an interest by the superordinate society in changing behaviors of the subordinate group in specific ways, and that members of the subordinate group be subject to sanctions from the other society as well as their own.

The particular culture change process of interest in this study is acculturation. The type of acculturation is directed and, therefore, the model (Naylor, 1974) chosen for the study is a directed change model. However, before discussing the chosen model, two of the better known traditional models--Spicer's and Steward's--are briefly reviewed in order to highlight those aspects of Naylor's model which make it the better choice for this study.

The Traditional Models

In addition to the distinction which it makes between directed and non-directed change, Spicer's (1961) model focuses on such factors as the nature of the structural linkages between the subordinate and superordinate societies, the kinds of roles with accompanying sanctions assumed by members of the superordinate society, and the structural stability of the subordinate society. It has been extensively used in the analyses of the acculturation of American Indians, including a study by Codere (1961) on the acculturation of a group of Pacific Northwest Coast Indians other than the Tlingit. A modified version of Spicer's model was used by Van Stone (1976) in investigations of change among Athapaskans in Alaska. As a model it is most appropriate for use in the examination of the broad period of history of the Tlingit from the time of their contact with Europeans until perhaps the 1920s. It is, however, not appropriate for the analysis of contemporary American culture and its subcultures. Steward (1955) discusses at length the inadequacies of such models as Spicer's for the analysis of change in modern societies. He points out that in an analysis of culture change and acculturation in more complicated sociocultural systems, there are

phenomena which cannot be handled by the normative and relativistic concept of culture. Modern nations "are extremely heterogeneous entities whose total 'pattern' consists of intricately interrelated parts of different kinds" (ibid., p. 46). He goes on to say:

> . . . the assimilation of any ethnic minority . . . means first that certain traits have been adopted from the particular sub-cultural group with which the minority had contact and second that certain aspects of the national culture have affected the minority culture to the extent of integrating it as a new sub-culture (ibid., p. 47).

Many factors are involved in change as described by Steward. His concept of levels of sociocultural integration emphasizes the qualitative difference in the process of integration as it occurs in simple cultures and in more advanced cultures. He points out that in the process of culture change, "simple forms do not wholly disappear . . . nor do they merely survive fossil-like . . . [but] become modified as specialized dependent parts of new kinds of total configurations" (ibid., p. 51). For example, he distinguishes such factors as different child-rearing practices within subgroups, nationally shared features of socialization, and the common influence of mass communication, which interact to affect national character (ibid., pp. 49, 50). The shared behavior, or "national character," which results from the interaction of such factors is not homogenous and all aspects of it are not uniformly affected by change. The complexity of the interactional situation incorporating those factors requires a detailed and sophisticated model.

Although Steward provides needed emphasis on the heterogeneity of, and complexity of culture change in modern society, he does not supply a detailed description of elements and working relationships

for analysis of the individual case of change. Like Spicer, his theory or mini-model addresses the broader historical picture of culture change and includes both directed and non-directed types of change. As was indicated in preceding chapters, although educational change associated with federal funds is nominally voluntary, since a school has the option of refusing funds, it is directed and is usually initiated outside the subculture of the school itself. Therefore, an appropriate model for application to this study would need to be able to deal in detail with directed change occurring during a limited period of time, which involves subcultures in a complex heterogeneous society.

The Directed Change Model

Of the models of directed culture change currently available, Naylor's (1974) model seems to best meet the requirements of this study. The emphasis on the interactional situation adds a dimension to Naylor's model not present in other models, such as Niehoff's (1966). Niehoff lists many of the same factors included in Naylor's model, shown in Table 1. However, his emphasis is on two forces: "the action of the change agent and the reaction of the community of persons whom he expects to adopt the idea" (ibid., p. 40). Naylor's model recognizes that outcomes in change situations are affected by the interactive as well as the additive effects of innovator and recipient characteristics.

Naylor (1974) writes:

> In this model the interactional situation is influenced by the characteristics of the innovator and recipient; what we would generally call cultural factors. The dotted lines represent possible contributions to the plan of the originating of the idea. The plan contributes to the interactional situation and when combined with the factors of the innovator and the recipient, yields

TABLE 1

FACTORS OF CULTURE CHANGE

Innovator	Plan	Recipient
I. Culture A. Values & Beliefs B. Economic Pattern C. Political Pattern D. Social Organization & Structure	I. Timing II. Culture Fit III. Strategy	I. Culture A. Values & Beliefs B. Economic Pattern C. Political Pattern D. Social Structure & Organization
II. Role Characteristics A. Communication Ability B. Specialization & Technical Ability C. Motivation D. Personality		II. Role Characteristics A. Communication B. Motivations
III. Practices A. Living Habits B. Participation C. Affiliation D. Strategy		III. Practices A. Cultural B. Strategy

Interactional Situation

I. Idea Communication	III. Strategy	IV. Action/Reaction
II. Group Perceptions	A. Motivation B. Participation C. Utilization of Local Culture D. Timing E. Flexibility F. Continuity G. Maintenance	A. Innovator B. Recipient

Note: From Naylor, 1976

> the particular result. While this portrays the theory in general terms, it is in the separate categories that the real significance lies (p. 220).

The pictorial representation of the model is presented in Figure 1. The characteristics, or factors of culture change of the plan and of the innovator and recipient groups, are presented in Table 1. It is these characteristics or factors which influence the situation on the basis of action/reaction, communication, perceptions, and strategies.

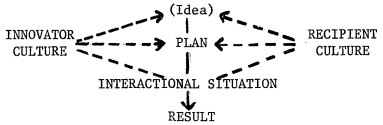


Fig. 1. Model of Directed Culture Change (Naylor (1974))

The elements represented in the model (Plan, Innovator, Recipient, and Interactional Situation) each have a set of relevant characteristics (Table 1). For the Innovator(s) these are grouped into culture characteristics, role characteristics, and practices, all of which are brought with the Innovator into the change situation. In the more classic case studies of directed change in anthropology, the Innovator is a representative of another culture. However, in educational change (as represented by this study) the Innovator shares the national culture of the other groups and individuals involved in the change process. He or she is, however, usually a member of a different subcultural group; membership in a subcultural group being defined by the sharing of a subset of distinctive values and beliefs within the larger national culture. Consciously or unconsciously, the Innovator's

actions are guided by these values and beliefs.

The second category of role characteristics consists of special attributes assigned or assumed by the Innovator. Within this role category the technical ability and communication skills of the Innovator are stressed. The personality of the Innovator is included in this category because it affects the communication of skills. Motivation is also included as the Innovator needs to be motivated, just as the Recipients do.

The third category consists of the actual practices of the Innovator. It includes his strategy, which Naylor defines as what the Innovator has in his mind about how he will go about his work. It also includes his organizational affiliations, his participation in the local culture, and his living habits, any one of which may introduce--from the viewpoint of the Recipient--contradictions to the situation of which the Innovator may be totally unaware.

The three main categories--culture, role, and practices--are the same for the Recipient group as for the Innovator. The characteristics listed under the culture category are also the same as those listed for the Innovator. However, for the Recipient, the role category is mainly concerned with communication and motivation. Under practices, the cultural heading refers to cultural expectations, actual behavior, and the balance between them, rather than to living habits or participation as with the Innovator. However, the practices category includes strategy under both Recipient and Innovator as both will have a strategy.

The Plan, as characterized in the model, has an influence of its own. Both Innovator and Recipient may have contributed to its

formation. Its timing and cultural fit may influence the interactional situation and these are not always within the control of either the Innovator or Recipient. The Plan will also have its own strategy, which may or may not reflect the strategies of the groups involved.

It is in the Interactional Situation that all of the above factors come together to influence the result. Idea communication is the most important aspect of this stage of the process since the Interactional Situation is built on what is transmitted between the Innovator and the Recipients. Perceptions of what is being communicated will also affect the strategies of each participant and, therefore, the action/reaction process.

In a multi-ethnic educational setting such as Gastineau, there may be several Recipient groups affected by a single Plan. For example, the school personnel, the school board, the Indian Parent Committee, and the secondary students all played recipient roles in the change process generated by the Indian Education Act. These groups can be distinguished from one another by the roles they played in the change process as well as by the sharing of a "substantial core of behavior" (Spicer, 1961, p. 46). Multiple Recipients create a more complex Interactional Situation since not only are there several sets of culture and role characteristics, but there are also multiple strategies in operation. Each subgroup has a strategy in dealing with other subgroups as well as a separate strategy for dealing with the Innovator. In addition, the Innovator may have to develop separate strategies toward each subgroup. In the Interactional Situation the Innovator may have to deal with quite different perceptions and communications from each subgroup and integrate them into his overall strategy.

Although the situation is more complex, the same categories of characteristics which the participants bring to the Interactional Situation are as appropriate to the multi-ethnic educational setting in a modern nation as in the culture contact between a more primitive society and a modern, technologically sophisticated nation. The various groups of Recipients, and the Innovator, may share membership in a national, political or economic system, but they are differentially affected by it. In spite of the complexity of the change process within a modern nation, the basic relationship between elements of the model remains the same.

Two aspects of the strategy under the Interactional Situation heading--continuity and maintenance--should be particularly noted because of their implications for the assumptions behind planned change. The inclusion of the factors continuity and maintenance under the Interactional Situation heading implies a commitment to the concept of linked change, i.e., that change begets change. As Naylor (1973) points out in his discussion of the role of anthropology in the solution of practical problems, "intervention is both the step toward realizing community goals and a method of varying the group situation in order to isolate another variable for research" (p. 366). The model provides "a contextual mapping of successive steps" (ibid.) which continually feeds back into the next stage. This study deals with one of those interactional stages in a continual process of change involving Indian education. A brief description of how the model might apply to some of the successive steps in the process may aid in understanding how the limits of this study were determined, and where this study fits into the longer term change process.

The Application of the Model

Although other investigative bodies existed prior to the 1969 special Senate subcommittee on Indian education, its creation is a convenient place to start the discussion of the change process, using the directed change model. The Idea, to investigate Indian education, can be considered to be based on the need for change in Indian education; the Plan consisted of the Senate subcommittee's investigation, with Indians, their non-Indian political allies, and legislators in the Senate as participants contributing to the Result--the Senate subcommittee report. In the next phase the report becomes the Idea of the members of the subcommittee, together with the Indians and their allies. These participants are the Innovators, with the legislators in the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives as the Recipients. The Result is the Indian Education Act, another Idea. This phase brings together federal administrators interacting with legislators to create the regulations (Plans) which are intended to provide for the implementation of the Act. The opportunity for funds desired by the next set of Recipients, the school district administrators in Gastineau, then works through the regulations of the Act, interacting with federal administrators to produce the idea for the needs assessment.

Two separate but interacting idea processes are involved when the needs assessment takes the position of Idea. One process involves the federal desire to make education more culturally relevant for Indian children and to give more control to Indian parents; in that process the school is the Recipient. For the sake of discussion, the school will include school administrators, school board, and teachers. The other process involves the federal desire to change the behavior of

Indian parents in order to increase their participation, making the Indian parents the Recipients. Those students who were on the Indian Parent Committee also are included as Recipients. Both school and Indian parents are involved, which points up the fact that often the motivations for a particular Idea may not be the same for both parties without necessarily inhibiting the effect of either. I will treat the two processes as one in the needs assessment stage. Sociocultural and organizational change will be viewed as the desired Result. It is this stage of the change process which is treated in this study. Potentially, the model could be applied to the next stage where programs are the Result, followed by programs as the Ideas, with all Indian students as Recipients, and improved educational outcomes as the desired Result. However, those stages are beyond the scope of this study.

This discussion of the levels at which the model could be applied and the elements involved has not dealt with my role as field worker and its place in the model. For the purpose of discussion, the field worker will be included under Innovators with the federal bureaucracy. How the field worker's role in this particular change process fits the model will be described in greater detail in a later discussion.

The model's primary utility is that it allows the material in the study to be dealt with in a systematic way. As an organizing framework, it serves to maintain anthropology's holistic approach as the analysis of the study proceeds. The model also provides a means of finding out what the nature of the process was and the extent of the change that actually occurred.

Research Techniques and Measures

The procedures used in the study are presented in the order which approximates their relative contribution to the study. Participant observation and informant interviewing were most important. The discussion of the field worker's role and personal characteristics is unusual for an education study but it is justified on the basis that in participant observation, the field worker is a research instrument. Documents were instrumental in providing historical and economic data significant to the problem. A survey of opinions made by local interviewers and the structured measures used in the needs assessment provided contextual information on perceptions and beliefs of the key groups, particularly with regard to the secondary groups, which I would not otherwise have been able to gather within the time limits of this study.

Observation

The term participant-observation encompasses a number of data collection methods. Lutz and Iaconne (1969, p. 113) list: observation and recording of descriptive data; recording direct quotes; unstructured interviews; and interaction frequency tallies. All of these were used during the course of this study. Observations were done in a number of settings such as classrooms, committee meetings, school board meetings, and during informal social occasions. The observation in the classroom focused on a specific aspect of teacher behavior--whether the teacher's interaction with Indian students differed qualitatively or quantitatively from that with non-Indian students. Observations of the Indian Parent Committee included both journalistic description and the

tallying of who spoke to whom.

The type of observation employed by a field worker is significantly tied to the role he or she plays in the local system during the course of the study. The role will to a great extent determine which of the range of available settings is available for observation, e.g., will the observer in a school district be welcome at central office staff meetings. It will also affect methods of collecting data, e.g., a teacher observing in her own classroom cannot tally each verbal interaction while she is teaching.

Lutz and Iaconne (1969) describe the range of roles open to one who may wish to describe a social system, as follows:

1) The participant not acting as scientific observer
2) The participant as an observer (owning group membership)
3) The observer as a limited participant (allowed group membership)
4) The observer as a non-participant (without group membership)
5) The observer (without presence in the group)

Roles one and five are not included under participant-observation in their system. They define role two as an observer who occupies a role that would exist whether or not he was there. Wolcott's role of teacher in A Kwakiutl Village and School (1967) fits the category of role two. According to Lutz and Iaconne, role three (the observer as limited participant) is similar to that assumed by Whyte in Street Corner Society (1966). In describing role three, Lutz and Iaconne state:

> . . . the crucial element in this role is that the observer does not occupy naturally a role that would exist whether or not he was doing research. Rather, he occupies the role "for the purpose of scientific investigation," and because of this, the role of participant differs from that of observer (p. 111).

Role four, the observer as non-participant, is described as one which not only does not exist in the normal social system, but where an effort is made not to impinge upon or be included in the social system. A further refinement of Lutz and Iaconne's classification might be to distinguish between those observers who deliberately affect the situation or introduce change and those who inadvertently or unconsciously affect the situation or introduce change. This proposition rests on the fact that any observer who is physically present will have an effect regardless of whether he or she owns group membership.

The role of the field worker. "Negotiating one's presence in a small community is the first task of any ethnographer" (Burns, 1975, p. 30), a task which was made more difficult in this case by the multiple roles and relationships required. The official role, as defined by the article in the local newspaper reporting the presence of the researcher, was that of a representative of the International Center for Education. The researcher was to conduct a needs assessment for the school district, funded by the Indian Education Act. The assigned task was described in the contract between the Center and the school district, as follows:

> This contract . . . is for the purpose of planning for and taking other steps leading to the development of programs specifically designed to meet the special educational needs of Indian children in the Gastineau School District, hereinafter referred to as the "Master Plan". . . .
>
> The objectives of the study are twofold: to assess the educational needs of the Native student in the Gastineau School District as perceived by Native parents and students in the context of the needs and expectations of the community as a whole, and to develop a Master Plan for on-going program development, needs assessment and evaluation of program implementation which will be consistent with the spirit of local control and self-determination.

In order to meet the objectives stated above, the study will include:

1. Utilization of the resources of the entire International Center for Education to make available to the Gastineau School District and the Indian Parent Education Committee information on programs and materials which might meet local needs.
2. A survey of the educational values and expectations of parents, students and faculty of the Gastineau School District by means of interviews and questionnaires: Both the Indian Parent Education Committee and the Gastineau School District staff will be directly involved in planning and implementation of the survey.
3. Training of local residents, Indians and others, for participation in current and future needs assessments.
4. Identification of local talent and resources which might be utilized to enhance the local educational program.
5. An analysis of existing programs and curriculum.
6. A final report which will include a Master Plan for use of federal funds to expand district capabilities to meet local needs. This report will include specific information on a priority program, or programs, to meet major needs assessment and program evaluation which can be used with a minimum of support from outside the school district.

From within this seemingly straightforward description of the task came a number of conflicts involving authority relationships and responsibilities. Although the school district was nominally the contractor, with the federal agency administering the funds, the International Center for Education as subcontractor was responsible to the federal government for conforming to the provisions under which the funds had been distributed. The specific portion of the Indian Education Act which was to be the cause of dissension reads,

> . . . planning was or will be directly related to programs or projects to be carried out under this title and has resulted or is reasonably likely to result, in a program or project which will be carried out under this title (Public Law 92-318, 86 stat. 336, Sec. 305).

As a representative of the Center, I encountered many of the same problems which have been described by evaluators and field workers

in other studies (cf. Everhart, 1975; Nelson, Gianotta, & Lundin, 1974; Clinton, 1976; Wolcott, 1975). Multiple expectations from multiple audiences created problems in three areas:

1. In the area of authority came the problem--to whom was I to be held responsible? Was I responsible to the Indian Parent Committee or the school district? The Indian Education Act requires shared authority between school and Parent Committee, but in reality school authorities did not intend to lose control of any activity funded through their organization. In part, the problem is like that described by Sarason (1971, p. 128) regarding specialists in schools. He points out that while the administrator cannot tell the specialist what to do, he is still responsible for what takes place in the school. Furthermore, how did my responsibility to my parent organization mesh with these other lines of authority?
2. Another problem arose with the clients' perception of my task. The Parent Committee and the School District had different expectations based on selective reading of the contract and on their own felt needs. Because my presence was funded by Indian Education Act money, the Parent Committee felt that my task was to advise and aid them in implementing programs for their children in the school, to act as a facilitator. The Superintendent felt my task was to produce a standard needs assessment for the School District which would include information on needs of Indian children, a task which would not necessarily involve change. The School Board's perception of my task lay between these two views. The teachers, who had not been advised in

advance of my presence, developed their own version of my task. For some of them the needs assessment had a threatening hidden agenda, that of evaluation. Since I was paid by federal funds geared to Indians, I was seen by a few teachers as a federal "spy" for militant Indian forces. Most teachers saw me and my task as just another observer who would make demands on their time and write a report which would have no discernible effects. This group saw me as more of a nuisance than a threat.

3. My own perception of both lines of responsibility and of task was influenced by my professional views of what a needs assessment would involve. This perception included both personal and professional views on the appropriate relationships between Indian parents and the school. I subscribed to the view that community and parent involvement in the schools is both necessary and valuable. In my view, a needs assessment should include parents' opinions as well as those of the school staff. Minority parents should have a major voice in the education of their children. My view was further complicated by the knowledge of the potential use of the study results for future professional publications. To satisfy the ethical considerations associated with such action, I made a point of advising the Indian Parent Committee and the school district's representative that I would probably publish (suitably disguised) reports on portions of my work. However, my knowledge of the study's potential for future publication did affect the type of information I chose to collect.

Wolcott (1975) makes the point that there are relatively few roles in schools and "the roles available are not necessarily attractive for accomplishing research" (p. 122). He recommends that one resign oneself to a relatively marginal role of observer and seek avenues outside the assigned role for enlarging one's perspective.

During the actual field study, I occupied a participant-observer role, which falls between Lutz and Iaconne's roles three and four. The role played by the professional doing a needs assessment does not occur naturally in school districts and the person who occupies that role is expected to remain outside the social system (role four). However, the role of facilitator involves limited participation (role three) since it clearly affects and is affected by the social system. Paul's (1953) comments on the subject are particularly appropriate here. He points out, "In part the field worker defines his own role; in part it is defined for him by the situation and the outlook of the Natives" (p. 43). In this study, the interactional situation, as presented in the culture change model, defined the role of the field worker as a participant in the change process while the school staff defined the role as that of non-participant.

The Superintendent's decision to bring a representative of an educational research group into the district to do a needs assessment created a role neither he nor the authors of the Indian Act had intended. Unlike earlier Indian education legislation, the provisions of the Indian Education Act intended to create a direct link between local recipients and federal disbursers of funds, without the intervening layer of either educational administrators at the state level or other educational professionals. The Superintendent, as will be

demonstrated, did not intend to bring in someone whose values and perceptions of the intent of the Act differed from his own. At the beginning of the study the role was shaped by my personal and professional perceptions of the task. As the study progressed, it changed in response to local groups.

The field worker: personal characteristics. The inclusion of some discussion on the personal characteristics of the field worker has been increasing steadily in anthropology in recent years. Wolcott (1975(a)) states, "the fieldworker's essential research instrument has always been himself" (p. 115). Pelto says, "the anthropologist himself is the main instrument of observation" (p. 140). Powdermaker (1966) states, regarding field studies: "In one focused on the participant-observation method, a description of the fieldworker is in order since his personality is part of the research situation being studied" (p. 19). As this study utilized much from anthropology, such a discussion of my characteristics is in order.

My most salient characteristics are those of a middle-aged, married, female professional. Four types of experience I have had were relevant to the role I played as field worker in Gastineau. The first was my experience in the military during World War II which exposed me to the values and mores of subgroups within American society very different from my own. The second was a year of living with my husband and children in a suburb of Tokyo, Japan which provided me with some experience living in a different culture. The third was my professional experience as a psychologist in Alaska, working with Alaskan Natives (primarily children) and working closely with teachers and the

schools. The fourth relevant experience concerned a previous research project undertaken in several Southwestern Alaskan Eskimo villages. Not only did that provide me with the opportunity to visit villages and work with Eskimo young people, it also taught me the hazards of pre-selecting relevant research variables without adequate knowledge of the context of the problem. That experience had an important influence on my choice of approach to the present study.

My attitudes in dealing with educators and with community members, a central activity of this study, are associated with my various roles: of parent; as a member of a university academic community; as a psychologist; as an individual with Indian heritage; as a political and social liberal, and as a woman. My experiences as a parent, an academic, and as a psychologist brought me in contact with teachers of various levels of competence in a variety of situations. Overall, these experiences have been more positive than negative and probably have not been a source of significant bias in one direction of another. My interaction with school administrators has been less balanced. I have had excellent working relationships with some administrators but most of my experience has led me to expect administrators to be unresponsive to external pressure, concerned with maintaining the status quo, and politically and educationally conservative. Since this characterization of school administrators also frequently appears in the literature of educational change, it may represent reality rather than bias--or it may represent a bias shared by the people who write texts (and dissertations) on educational change.

My experiences outside my own subgroup have given me a cultural perspective--an appreciation for the many possible perceptions of the

same reality--which I believe has stood me in good stead in this study. I do tend to identify with Indian causes more than most Americans, however, this is as much an effect of my political views as it is of the Indian portion of my biological heritage. I am quite aware that my views represent a minority position, and that any practical program needs to accommodate majority views as well. These are the personal values and beliefs which I brought to the interactional situation; I leave it to the reader to decide if they biased the report of the study.

Individual interviews. The interviews done in association with the needs assessment, which began with questions about the school, almost always expanded to include information on values and beliefs concerning the community as a whole. However, no one individual played the primary role of informant in the sense that a member of a different culture traditionally acts as an informant for an ethnographer. Those persons interviewed included all teachers, all school administrators, members of the school board, members of the Indian Parent Committee, a sample of significant public figures such as the magistrate and the public health nurse, and several Indian and non-Indian parents whom I knew through mutual friends. I interviewed some of these people on a regular basis during visits to Gastineau and they became, in effect, regular informants since school and community affairs were always topics of interest. The persons who acted as regular informants came from each of the above listed groups. Fred Blue, a Tlingit educator who had grown up in Gastineau, acted as informant in addition to the other roles he played during the course of the study. In addition, I interviewed several senior educators in the state who had taught in,

or worked with, the school in Gastineau.

The interviews of secondary school students, which I did during the regular school day, and the parent interviews conducted by local interviewers under my supervision were an additional source of contextual information about the community and the school.

Parent interviews. Forty-three non-Native parents and twenty-seven Native parents were interviewed using the structured interview schedules presented as appendices B and C. This represented about one-fourth of the non-Native parents potentially available for interviewing and about two-thirds of the Native parents.

A list of parents of currently enrolled students, their addresses, and their ethnic identity was obtained from school records. All Native parents were potential interviewees. Non-Native parents were chosen for interviewing by selecting every third name on the parent's list until the numbers of parents who returned questionnaires, parents who had not returned questionnaires, and parents not sent questionnaires were proportional. Interviewers were instructed to make a minimum of two call-backs if a respondent could not initially be contacted.

Like-ethnic interviewers did interviews with both Native and non-Native parents. Initially I attempted to have the Native interviewers solicited by the Indian Parent Committee. One member of the Committee and several of her friends reluctantly responded and started training. However, it soon became apparent that their other commitments would not allow them to complete the task and only two interviews were completed by this group. Two younger Tlingit women were then recruited,

one from Hochna. One of the women found that interviewing was too stressful and resigned after interviewing her father. The other young woman completed the balance of the interviews in Gastineau. When she turned in her final group of interviews I inquired about the interviews in one specific location which had not yet been completed. She informed me that interviews could not be done there because he family had a longstanding quarrel with clan members in that location. I was unable to hire a reliable interviewer for Hochna and the seven Hochna parents were omitted from the interviewing. Nineteen of the twenty-six Native parents not otherwise represented in the sample were interviewed by the Tlingit interviewer. Three Native parents refused and four could not be located.

Four non-Native interviewers were recruited through an ad in the local newspaper. Training was the same for Native and non-Native interviewers. Five training sessions were held during one site visit. Practice interviews were taped, and reviewed during a following site visit. Fortunately, one of the interviewers had had extensive experience with the Michigan Institute for Social Research. She was given a supervisory position and monitored the balance of the interviewing in my absence. One non-Native interviewer was terminated because of her inability to keep her own attitudes from affecting the interview session. The two interviews she had completed were removed from the sample.

The parent interviews were a significant source of such contextual information as Native parents' expressed interest, and reported participation in Tlingit activities. The interviews were a particularly good source of information about group differences between Native

and non-Native parents, such as differences in attitudes toward the school, differences in perceptions of the school staff, and differences in both formal and informal interaction with the school staff. This data served as an excellent means of distinguishing between real and ideal attitudes and behaviors reported from other sources such as teacher interviews.

Student interviews. Forty-two high school students were interviewed using the interview schedule attached as Appendix D and the Instrumental Activities Inventory (IAI). The initial question on the interview schedule refers to the Instrumental Activities Inventory pictures which are presented in Appendix E. Most of the questions on the interview schedule are not relevant to this study. However, the open-ended questions about desired changes in the school and the questions about social interaction among the students provided information on differences, or lack of differences, between Native and non-Native students in attitude toward the school, and in social interaction.

A representative sample of students from each grade level from 8 through 12 was selected on the basis of sex, academic success, and family socioeconomic level. Equal numbers of Native and non-Native students were interviewed.

The Instrumental Activities Inventory was used as an eliciting device rather than a test. As adapted by Spindler (1965), it consists of a series of line drawings of people engaged in activities representing major classes of instrumental activities. Instrumental activities are those which might be instrumental in achieving individual goals. When used in a cross-cultural setting some of the activities

represented as instrumental in achieving traditional minority society goals, some in achieving goals in the dominant society, and some are compatible with both traditional and contemporary goals. As described by Spindler (1974(b)), the Instrumental Activities Inventory is used to assess "the instrumental linkages . . . [which] constitute the core of any cultural system" (p. 4). The procedure consisted of asking the respondent to choose the three pictures he/she liked most, the three he/she liked least, and then inquiring as to the reasons for the choices. Scenes pictured were selected on the basis of recommendations by the traditional leaders of the community and by local Indians who appeared to be most culturally and structurally assimilated into the local community. Traditional scenes included a Tlingit dancer, an Alaska Native Brotherhood meeting in the local hall, and dipnetting for euchalon. Contemporary scenes compatible with traditional values were a hunter sighting in on a mountain sheep, a carver working on a totem pole, and fishermen on a gillnetter. Scenes oriented toward dominant society activities depicted a lawyer in the courtroom, a female teacher in a classroom, an office worker at a desk, a logger, a construction worker, basketball players, a draftsman, a medical doctor with a patient, a mechanic working on a car, and a male teacher in an elementary classroom. The Instrumental Activities Inventory provided information on the degree of acculturation of Indian students, their attitudes toward the traditional activities pictured and, in combination with the vocational question on the interview schedule, an additional measure of Native and non-Native student vocational interests and expectations. The total interview provided a range of information on student attitudes, felt needs, activities, and values which could

be checked against observation and the information gathered from teachers and parents to assess the differences between expectations and actual behavior.

Teacher interviews. The interview schedule included as Appendix F provided contextual information on teachers' educational values, their educational background, their attitude toward the school and the community, and their perceptions of parents' role in the educational process. The responses to the interviews were particularly helpful in verifying information from observation, questionnaires and other interviews on the culture characteristics of the school staff as recipients in the change process.

Documents. Anthropological texts provided ethnographic data on the Tlingits and analyses of the acculturation process which followed their contact with the Europeans. Historical texts, popular non-fiction publications on the area and its Indians, and early U.S. Census reports provided a wealth of historical data on the culture characteristics of area residents and their historical background. The local newspaper provided important social interaction data through reports of who attended meetings, weddings, and other social gatherings. In its regular local history feature, it also provided details on persons and events in the recent past which were not available in any formal source. The State of Alaska agency reports on economics and on health provided details on characteristics of the site and the health and socioeconomic status of its inhabitants. The high school newspaper, school records, intra-school announcements, and the newsletters of various community organizations provided further information on social interaction and

shared activities of Native and non-Native residents. Minutes of the city council, borough, and school board meetings provided information on events, and opinions expressed, during the interactional phase--which I otherwise would have missed in my absences from the study site. The State of Alaska Educational Directory from 1941 onward provided data on the size, staff and other characteristics of the school.

Structured Measures

In a larger sense these measures include the parent interviews administered by local interviewers as well as questionnaires, rating scales and other measures administered during the needs assessment. Appendix G lists all the measures used in the needs assessment, to whom they were administered, by whom they were administered, and their sources. Of the measures administered, the following are considered relevant to the study as sources of contextual information and information which could validate or supplement observation data.

High school questionnaire. The high school questionnaire, which was administered to all 151 students present in grades 8 through 12, provided a measure of the degree to which values and attitudes were shared by Indian and non-Indian students, an indication of the acculturation of the Indian students. It included questions on attitudes toward school and society as well as student perceptions of their parents' interest in their education. The complete high school questionnaire, with responses, is included as Appendix H. The questionnaire's 38 items were derived for the most part from a questionnaire administered by Kunkel, Thompson, and McElhinney (1973) to 10,000 senior high school students in Indiana in a variety of rural and urban settings.

The authors describe it as a measure of students' feelings of alienation from their schools. It includes questions intended to measure feelings toward school as an institution, the school as a teacher, authority vs. autonomy, and parental interest in school. Twelve items (items 19 through 30 in Appendix H) were taken from Coleman's 1966 study, Equality of Educational Opportunity. Those twelve items measure "locus-of-control," a concept derived from Rotter's social learning theory (Rotter, 1954). Locus-of-control refers to the extent to which people perceive contingency relationships between their actions and their outcomes. A vocational intentions item was also adapted from Coleman (1966). The Indian students' actual degree of acculturation, e.g., shared values with their non-Indian peers, was an important factor in their requests for ethnic programs. Their requests, in interaction with other participants' perception of educational activities appropriate for their needs, affected the outcome of the change process.

Activity questionnaire. This questionnaire was also administered to all students in grades 8 through 12. It was used to verify observations and reports from informants on the degree of structural assimilation and social status enjoyed by Native students within their peer group. As an additional measure, it aided my understanding of the conflicting reports from the various sources, as well as how the social reality (as reported by students) contributed to their motivations and felt needs. The questionnaire was designed to assess the number of behavior settings in which a student participated, and his or her degree of participation in the behavior setting, as was done by Barker (1962) in his study of rural high schools. It requested information

about participation in community activities, both as a volunteer and for wages, as well as in school activities. It is reproduced in Appendix I.

The Barclay inventories. The Barclay Learning Needs Inventory (BLNI) and the Barclay Classroom Climate Inventory (BCCI) are pencil-and-paper instruments which measure sociometrics, vocational awareness, self-image, and--in the case of the BCCI--teacher expectations. They provided information on those dimensions, which could then be checked against data from observation and interviews. These dimensions were of particular interest because of the role the Indian parents' and school staff's perception of the self-esteem and vocational awareness needs of the students played in interaction leading to decisions on programs. The inventories also measure several other variables which were relevant to the needs assessment done for the school but are not relevant to this study. The elementary version (BCCI) was administered to grades 3 through 7, and the secondary version was administered to grades 8 through 12. Although the content of the two inventories differs, their author states that the BLNI was developed from the BCCI and that they measure, for the most part, the same variables (e.g., self-concept). The vocational awareness section was used in grades 3 through 12. That section included such items as "repairing and servicing airplanes," "teaching high school," and "studying animals and plants." Four items of local relevance were added: "flying an airplane that carries people or freight," "carving totem poles or other things," "being a fisherman on a gillnetter or seiner," and "working in a logging camp." The Barclay scales are copyrighted and, therefore, not reproduced in the

appendices. However, a brief description of each is presented in Appendix J.

Gates-MacGinitie reading test. This widely used reading test is designed to cover grades K through 12. It measures speed and accuracy, vocabulary, and comprehension. Extensive norms are available based on a recent nationwide standardization. Scores were available on all students in the school district and served as a good approximation of group levels of academic achievement, providing a comparison for perceptions of Indian and non-Indian student achievement as reported in interviews with teachers and parents. In the process of interaction between Parent Committee, field worker and school, their varied perceptions of the needs of Indian students contributed to the final result of the change process. This reading measure provided an objective check on the academic needs as they were perceived by participants in the change process.

Educational priorities questionnaire. This questionnaire supplied information on possible differences between Indian parents, non-Indian parents, and teachers in educational values. It also provided a measure of possible opposition to the introduction of Indian heritage programs into the schools which was compared with teachers' and administrators' perceptions of possible opposition. The results of this measure, as communicated to the Committee and School Board by the field worker, aided in modifying the outcome.

The respondents were selected as follows: All members of the school staff and of the school board were given questionnaires; all parents of children identified as Alaskan Native by the Superintendent's

office were mailed questionnaires; questionnaires were mailed to a sample of non-Native parents selected by choosing every other name on an alphabetized list, and questionnaires were delivered to each member of the Indian Parent Committee.

The format of Gottesfeld's (1973) Educational Values Assessment Questionnaire (EVA) was adopted for the Educational Priorities Questionnaire. The format does not present a "for or against" choice, but asks the respondent to rank items on a scale of 1 (no importance) through 7 (greatest importance). Gottesfeld designed his questionnaire for use in multi-ethnic urban school districts and many of his items were inappropriate, or needed modification, for use in Gastineau. Items eliminated were replaced by items of local interest. The decision as to which items were to be included in the questionnaire was based on the recommendations of the Indian Parent Committee and the school staff. A list of items was made up from those on Gottesfeld's questionnaire, a questionnaire administered by Biglin (1972) to Southwestern Indian parents, and questionnaires from the National Study of Indian Education completed in 1971 (Fuchs & Havighurst, 1972). These items were reproduced, discussed with school staffs and the Committee during one site visit, and their selections were collected during the following month's site visit. The complete questionnaire, with responses, is presented as Appendix K.

Analyses of structured measures. Statistical techniques for analysis of results from questionnaires and other structured measures were used to further validate and supplement results from observations. In addition to descriptive statistics, such as means and standard

deviations, a t test or a simple one-way analysis of variance was used to check the field worker's impression of significant subgroup differences in response to school and community measures. A factor analysis was made of the Educational Priorities Questionnaire. However, based on Thorndike's recommendations,[1] the sample was not large enough in relation to the number of variables to provide a reliable factor solution. Thorndike's recommendations may be on the conservative side since Gottesfeld's (1973) ratio between sample size and number of variables also does not meet Thorndike's criteria. In any event, the results of the factor analyses were used to describe rather than to predict and checked against other sources of information.

---

[1]See discussion of Thorndike in Brislin, Lonner, and Thorndike, Cross-Cultural Research Methods, 1973, p. 279.

CHAPTER IV

SITE DESCRIPTION

In previous chapters the characteristics of the innovators associated with the development of the Indian Education Act at an earlier stage of change have been identified, and the personal and role characteristics of the field worker (myself) have been described. The Indian Education Act, its characteristics and its relation to the needs assessment, has also been described. This chapter identifies and describes the local participants in the change process and the characteristics which they brought to the interactional situation. As elements of the model, these characteristics constitute one portion of the basic data of the study.

The chapter presents both the history of Gastineau and the community as it appears today. The historical presentation provides the context for understanding what the community is today. It is the history of the contact between local Indians and whites which has produced many of the relevant characteristics which will be involved in the interactional situation. Such background information is particularly important in a study of Indian education because each American Indian group--even within Alaska--has had an unique contact history leading to wide differences in the characteristics they bring to the current change process.

The "Gastineau today" section of this chapter stresses the

organizational structure of the site as it currently exists--particularly the school, the local government, and the Alaska Native brotherhood. It is through these organizations that participants came together in the interaction which is the focus of this study.

Socio-Cultural History of the Study Site

Gastineau, the site of this study, is located at the north end of a canallike arm of the sea extending almost 100 miles into the landmass of Southeastern Alaska. The town itself lies on a portage adjacent to the site of an old Tlingit village. The Chamber of Commerce brochure on Gastineau lists a population of 1,093 within the city limits and 1,584 within the borough. Although small, the population of Gastineau has more than doubled in the past ten years. As are many small communities in Alaska, it is somewhat isolated. The nearest urban center, some seventy miles away, is accessible only by an occasional ferry or by air-taxi services. Because of the surrounding mountains, only one radio station can be received. A local cable station uses videotapes to broadcast television programs shown several weeks earlier in Seattle. Even Alaskan newspapers are at least one day old when they are received for distribution.

Gastineau, like other Southeastern communities, economically and socially turns to the south--not the north--for services and contacts. I noted during the study that while other Alaskans speak of going "outside" to the "lower 48," people in Southeastern communities speak of "going south." The majority of high school students interviewed in Gastineau expressed a preference for going to college to the south rather than to the University of Alaska's campuses at Anchorage

or Fairbanks. Goods and services not locally available are sought from Seattle, and most Gastineau residents go south for vacations.

The town is in a setting of overwhelming beauty: rugged snow-capped mountains reaching to the sea, islands, glaciers, deep bays, and a rich and varied forest cover. Annual precipitation is high throughout Southeast Alaska, but the Gastineau area is somewhat drier than most, with an average annual precipitation of 61 inches. Temperatures are mild in comparison with inland areas, ranging from a mean of 23° F. in January to a mean of 57.6° F. in July. The rugged mountains leave only a narrow band of land in most areas, and the lush vegetation makes travel difficult except by boat or along established roads or trails through the passes.

Pre-Contact History

Before the white man came this was the country of the Chilkat Tlingit. Chilkat refers to the geographical group or Kon of the Tlingit who occupied four major villages along the shores of the canal and the river (Oswalt, 1966). The 1880 census lists the four villages in the Gastineau area with a total of 988 Chilkat people. Hochna, which is located twenty miles up the river, was the earliest village and is the only village now remaining. Its name means "Mother village" or "village always there," according to Tlingit-speaking informants. Pictures taken in the 1890s show it as a much more imposing settlement than Gastineau, with many large and well-built western-style houses along the river. A few of these houses still stand unoccupied in Hochna, their size and architecture impressive in contrast to the present buildings.

Across from the present site of Gastineau was an old Hudson's

Bay anchorage, and the 1890 census states that all the furs of the interior came to it in earlier days. By the middle of the nineteenth century the trading ship Beaver regularly anchored at the Hudson's Bay anchorage to trade with the Chilkat for the furs they had obtained from the interior Indians. Earlier trading had been carried on by the enterprising Chilkat journeying south to meet the Europeans. McClellan (1950) reports that:

> In the nineteenth century the Chilkat . . . were emphatically credited with a savagery, strength and wealth exceeding that of all other Tlingit groups. The unanimity of opinion on this is quite striking--traders, missionaries, military men, geographers, ethnologists and the Tlingit themselves all agree (p. 171).

This wealth and reputation was based on their control of the routes to the interior and monopoly of trade with the Indians of the interior. They also excelled in making ceremonial robes woven from mountain goat hair.

As Tlingits, the Chilkat are part of the Pacific Northwest Coast culture which Spencer and Jennings (1965) describe as follows: "The vitality of the Northwest Coast, its dramatic organization and inventive spirit make it one of the most outstanding and . . . most exciting of the New World culture areas" (p. 168); and again, "few can rival the artistic splendor which the Northwest Coast developed" (p. 195). The resource-rich environment of the Pacific Northwest Coast provided the setting for this complex culture, which was characterized by its social stratification, art, and material wealth. Fish, particularly salmon, together with the flora and fauna of the coastal forests provided a generous and reliable subsistence base which made leisure available for socio-cultural elaboration. The society which developed combined social classes, strong chieftainship, and a matrilineal moiety

organization (Steward, 1955). Fish also provided oil for trading with the interior people. On trading and raiding voyages the Tlingits ranged from interior Alaska to Puget Sound.

According to McClellan (1954, p. 56), although individuals belonging to a Kon (the largest locality-based social group) might have a feeling of shared identity, their unity as a group was nebulous. Rather than territorial considerations, kinship--real or putative--governed this pan-Tlingit organization, and a host of reciprocal obligations and kinship observances wove back and forth across its axis. Most important were the exogamic matrilineal moieties. Social relationships further depended on clans, which made up the moieties, and these clans in turn were composed of lineages which often represented the clan in several different Kon. In her 1950 study of trade in the upper Yukon, McClellan notes that the late nineteenth century relationships between clans of the Sitka Tlingit and the Chilkat may have extended well back in time, and these relationships continue to be recognized at the present time. In looking at the history of the area, two facets of this organization seem to have influenced the course of culture change in the early post-contact period: the linkages between the clans in different geographical units, which allowed the Tlingit to organize area-wide resistance more effectively, and the presence within any one locality of a number of potentially competing clans and lineages leading to factionalism within any one village.

Contact History

Traders, missionaries and exploiters of the land. Oswalt (1966) reports that Spanish ships had visited Tlingit country as early as 1582

although they apparently did not make contact with the residents. It was not until the coming of the Russians nearly 200 years later that there was extensive contact between the Tlingit and Europeans. He notes that all early contacts with the Tlingits by traders and explorers of all nationalities were hostile. Not until Baronof established his fort at Sitka were Europeans able to gain a foothold in Tlingit territory. Oswalt also notes that during the Russian period there was no effective political control over the Tlingit, and Russian missionary efforts were not very successful. The most profound effect upon the Tlingit of their contact with the Russians was exposure to previously unknown disease. It is estimated that half the Tlingit died in the smallpox epidemic of the 1830s, and the death rate from other European-introduced diseases continued to be high well into the early 1900s (ibid., p. 386). The various reports of early contacts with the Tlingits give a consistent picture of the European's feelings about the Tlingit. The adjectives most frequently used to describe them are arrogant, thieving, bellicose, shrewd, treacherous. Emmons (1893), a military man with an interest in anthropology, presents a more favorable picture of the Chilkat as he knew them in the 1880s: "proud, vain, sensitive but withall, a healthy, honest independent race and friendly when fairly met" (p. 1).

There is general agreement (Krause, 1956, p. 46; Oberg, 1973, p. 5., and Oswalt, 1966, p. 380) that the transfer of Alaska to American ownership had devastating effects upon the Tlingits, particularly with the coming of waves of gold miners and other fortune seekers. The Russians often adapted themselves to the Indians with whom they lived, but the Americans "pursued their own purposes with no consideration of

them even when they lived . . . in their midst" (Kraus, 1956, p. 46). Little military or civil control accompanied the influx of fortune seekers, and offenses against the Indians were more likely to result in punitive action by the military against the Indians than against the offenders (Miller, 1967).

During the Russian period and the early part of the American period the Chilkat were somewhat less vulnerable than were their southern neighbors. Their river villages were beyond the reach of the guns of foreign ships, so fewer sanctions were available to the interlopers with which to enforce change. Although Lt. Whidby visited the northern end of the canal as early as 1794 and met one of the Chilkat chiefs, neither the Russians, the Americans, nor the English (who were also active participants in the fur trade) were able to establish a permanent trading post in Chilkat territory. The Chilkat continued to control major routes to the interior and the gold fields throughout most of the 1800s; not until 1890 did the white man cross the pass which is reached by way of Gastineau. Access to the pass for the gold seekers was made possible by a Captain Beardslee, who "established 'amicable relations' with the Chilkats and the Chilkoots according to Dawson, who perhaps overestimated the peaceful quality of the invasion since Beardslee was backed by twenty armed sailors and a Gatling gun" (McClellan, 1950, p. 190). In 1898 an estimated 28,000 people went over the passes to the gold fields and the Chilkat made a considerable profit from packing goods for the miners.

It was the rapid resource development, accompanied by an ever-increasing number of Americans, which--together with disease--was to bring about the greatest change (Krause, 1956, p. 47). The 1889

Governor's Report (Federal Field Committee, 1968) lists eleven sawmills in operation in Southeast Alaska and at least thirty-six salmon canneries. Several of the canneries were in the area of the present Gastineau. At first this exploitation of natural resources in the Gastineau area by the Americans did little to benefit the Tlingits economically as Chinese workers were brought in to perform cannery labor. Perhaps the Americans felt it necessary to import labor because of the independent nature of the Tlingit for, as Oswalt (1966) notes, "to be ordered about was to be insulted and as domestic servants or laborers they (Tlingits) did not satisfy their white employers" (p. 384). It was not until 1917 that a cannery was built in the Gastineau area which employed local workers to the exclusion of the Chinese.

Drucker (1958) states that in the early days the fishing industry on the North Pacific Coast greatly depended on the Indians of Southeast Alaska and British Columbia. White and Japanese fishermen were not involved until the late 1800s. According to local informants, the fishing industry came late to Gastineau and in that area white fishermen played a dominant role from the beginning. Indian fishermen played, and still play, a role in fishing but not in proportion to their numbers in the population. Neither mining nor logging were dependent on the Indian and, as the American population increased, the Chilkat were pushed into the status of second-class citizens. As in other aspects of contact, the effects on the Chilkat may have been relatively less than on other Tlingit because of relatively greater structural stability associated with their greater isolation. Stability of residence as well as isolation may have modified the effects of contact. Spicer (1961), in his discussion of the Spanish mission

contact communities and the American Indian reservation system, points out that where the innovator culture was able to mandate changes in settlement patterns, there were generally great cultural losses and strong trends toward assimilation. That the Tlingit were able to remain in their own territory and, in the case of the Chilkat, maintain the "mother" village may have reduced such cultural losses and somewhat ameliorated the effects of rapid change (Drucker, 1955, p. 33).

The arrival of the four groups of change agents in the Gastineau area: the explorers and traders, the missionaries, the gold seekers, and the government services, followed the same sequence noted by Van Stone (1976) elsewhere in Alaska. However, the time span involved and the characteristics of the recipient culture were quite different. The shifts in type of contact situation, e.g., directed vs. non-directed, over time can be seen in the Tlingit-European contacts as they have been described for other American Indian groups by Spicer (1961).

Change resulting from early Chilkat contact with the traders was non-directed as the traders had no effective sanctions, except withdrawal of trade, to employ against the Chilkat even if they had desired to change them in specific ways. Those innovations, primarily material, accepted from the traders by the Chilkat were integrated in accordance with Chilkat cultural interests, not those of the innovator culture.

With the arrival of the Presbyterian missionaries in the 1880s and the great numbers of Americans who sought to exploit the natural resources of the area in the 1890s, the process of change became directed. From the time of the arrival of the missionaries on, there were multiple structural or institutional linkages--ecclesiastical,

political, and economic--between the innovator and the recipient societies. The structural stability of the Chilkat society had been seriously damaged by the tremendous death rate that resulted from foreign diseases and by the loss of control of routes to the interior which had been the basis of their economy. The roles played by the Americans were largely coercive and dominant, in relation to the Tlingit, as political control was established through military presence and increasing numbers. Although the sanctions of the Presbyterians were primarily moral, they were often backed up by the military as the missionaries sought to "save" and educate the Natives. Political and military control also ensured that the Americans would be firmly in the dominant role in economic matters.

Acculturation and Assimilation

The Tlingit are regarded by non-Native Alaskans as the most acculturated of the Alaskan Native groups (Commission on Cross-Cultural Education, 1971, p. 4). Anglo-Alaskans, such as a state administrator and a judge of my acquaintance, refer to them as the most "middle class" of Alaskan Natives. As discussed by Parker (1962, pp. 222, 228), more Tlingits hold advanced degrees, have professional positions, or are successful businessmen than is the case for Eskimos or Athapaskans. It would, however, be a mistake to assume that Tlingits as a group--full-blood or mixed--have been completely assimilated or acculturated into the dominant culture. It is necessary to make the distinction between types of assimilation or acculturation in order to understand the Tlingit's position. The Subcommittee on Acculturation appointed by the Social Science Research Council declared that acculturation:

> . . . comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups. (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936, p. 149)

Gordon (1964, pp. 67-71) distinguishes between cultural assimilation and structural assimilation. Cultural assimilation involves the change of the cultural patterns of the subordinate society to those of the superordinate society. Gordon regards cultural or behavioral assimilation as the equivalent of acculturation when the societies in contact do not have co-equal reciprocal cultural influence. Structural assimilation involves large-scale entry on a primary group level into the "cliques, clubs and institutions" (ibid., p. 71) of the superordinate society by members of the subordinate society. In either type of assimilation the process is a matter of degree. For Tlingits as a group, both types of assimilation have been less than complete and the process involved has not been simply a change of traditional cultural patterns to cultural patterns of Anglo-Alaskan society. The process which Spicer refers to as "fusional integration" seems to be an appropriate concept describing such current Tlingit institutions as the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood. The essential aspect of "fusional integration" is that "whatever the specific form of the combination the principles which guide it are neither wholly from one or the other of the two systems in contact" (Spicer, 1961, p. 533). Evidence from several authorities on the Tlingit suggests that the subgroup within the American culture, identified by themselves and/or others as Tlingit, is culturally neither the traditional Tlingit nor the modern American but a fusion of both. In 1958 Drucker noted that "the clan system seems to operate with full vigor . . . regulating

marriage and establishing the framework within which the potlatch is carried on" (p. 148). Parker (1962), who did a brief ethnography of the Hoonah, discusses a number of traditional elements still functioning in the very different context of the 1960s and he notes the similarities between many American and Tlingit values. Codere's (1961) description of Kwakiutl culture change can also be applied to the Tlingit. She says:

> There is then only one adequate explanation of what did happen and that is that Kwakiutl and European culture were profoundly alike, and alike in such fundamental ways that reports of the death of the Kwakiutl culture are greatly exaggerated, change to a new culture was not anywhere nearly so drastic as appearances indicate, and the new culture had more the appearance than the reality of newness and difference. The conclusion that Kwakiutl culture and Western European culture must be profoundly alike seems to be required by the facts. Once accepted, it resolves major difficulties of interpretation about what has happened (Codere, 1961, p. 513).

The Tlingit culture may have been less "profoundly (a)like" the Western European culture than the Kwakiutl, but anthropologists have noted a number of elements which have proven to be compatible with both traditional Tlingit and European culture. For example, Oswalt (1966) comments: "With a disintegration of the old sib and moiety system but a continuing emphasis on material wealth and prestige, the modern Tlingit has a strong incentive to compete with other persons in Southeastern Alaska" (p. 392); in other words, to display that aggressive and competitive behavior which is valued in American culture. A more concrete example of the persistence of traditional elements among the Tlingits is in the use of traditional foods. Twenty-one of the twenty-five Tlingits interviewed in Gastineau customarily used traditional foods such as seal, hooligan oil, or ribbon seaweed. These families included the full occupational and educational range from

teachers to longshoremen. Seventeen of twenty-five respondents also reported attending potlatches. These figures do not indicate the full extent or persistence of traditional behavior since the more traditional Tlingit were underrepresented in the interview sample as a result of the failure to interview Hochna parents.

Several factors made the consequences of interaction between the Tlingit and the Europeans different from European interaction with the Athapaskan or Eskimo. One factor accounting for the difference may have been that the Tlingit vigorously, and to a great degree successfully, resisted the control of the Europeans until after the purchase of Alaska by the United States. Krause (1956) quotes the Congressional Papers of the 41st U.S. Congress:

> At first the natives were supposed to have harbored the idea they would drive away the new invaders (the Americans). They . . . were discouraged from any action by the Chief of the Chilkats . . . who pointed to the fact that the new people had many cannon (p. 266).

The Tlingit matrilineal society and the status of women within this society was yet another factor affecting their interaction with the white man. Tlingit women, at least higher caste women, were expected to remain chaste until marriage (Oberg, 1973, p. 22). Marriage had an important role in determining membership in a household and of its linkages to society at large. According to informants in Gastineau, unlike the Eskimo or Athapaskan, when a Tlingit woman married a Caucasian she did not necessarily marry out of her own society--her husband married in, and was assigned an appropriate moiety and clan membership to satisfy the requirements of a matrilineal moiety organization. Their children were considered part of their mother's clan and descent group. When Tlingits who are offspring of mixed marriages

were asked during this study about their parents' clan and moiety affiliation, they indicated their non-Tlingit parent as a member of the appropriate moiety. Undoubtedly, some men resisted inclusion but many did not.

Americans historically have been less inclined to formalize liaisons with the women of the non-Western societies they encountered than have the Russians and the French. However, by the time the Americans began to enter Chilkat territory in large numbers, the missionaries had also arrived and they exerted additional pressure on Americans to legalize liaisons with Chilkat women. In the Gastineau area there had not been the early contact and large numbers of mixed marriages between Russians and the Tlingit, which Oberg (1973, p. 7) describes for the Sitka area. However, Gastineau informants and local records indicated that a number of American pioneers had married Chilkat women and their descendants continue to live in the area.

Gastineau. The Gastineau Chamber of Commerce brochure devotes several paragraphs to the role of Sheldon Jackson and the Presbyterian Church in founding the town. It describes the establishment of a mission at the present site of Gastineau in 1881 by the Presbyterians, and the founding of the fort adjacent to Gastineau in the early 1900s. The indigenous people of the area are mentioned only as the inhabitants whose need to be saved and educated provided the rationale for the establishment of the original mission. Southeastern communities, with their milder climate and easier access to the south, often have a more stable population base than interior Alaskan communities. The nature of Gastineau's economic bases--fishing, transportation corridor,

lumbering, and an army base--probably encouraged residents to have a longer term view than the "make it big and get out" philosophy that I feel characterizes immigrants to the interior of Alaska where the economy has been based on such "boom or bust" sources as gold mining or military construction. Perhaps this sense of permanence influenced the immigrants more toward accommodation and assimilation with the indigenous population than was the case in Interior Alaska. The aggressive Chilkat Tlingit would have been more difficult to ignore in any case.

The gold rush passed over and through Gastineau in the late 1800s, but it was the canneries and growing lumbering industry which provided support for its economy. According to reports of Alaska's Division of Community Planning, the sawmill and associated lumbering activities currently dominate the town's economy. Fishing provides seasonal and, in many cases, supplemental income but its role in the economy is less than in the past. From 1904 until its deactivation after World War II, a nearby army post provided a stable base for the town's economy.

After World War II, the army post, consisting of 381 acres of land and 85 buildings, was purchased by a group of veterans from the east coast who, with their families, intended to create a cooperative community. The cooperative failed but some of its more energetic members stayed and maintained control of the property. These people were the first wave of "urban expatriates" who have trickled into Gastineau in the last twenty-five years to form a small but significant portion of the non-Native population.

Race relations. The process of Tlingit acculturation in Gastineau has been influenced in different ways by the different groups of immigrants who have settled there over the past ninety years. The immigrants' previously conceived attitudes toward Indians, interacting with the type of role each played, affect the interactional situation and thus the change process. Informants in the community held strong opinions about the difference in attitudes of different groups of immigrants toward local Indians.

The pioneers who came to Gastineau during its first fifty years held the traditional American/Protestant Ethic values common at that time. As Gordon (1964, pp. 93, 94) discusses, they believed that any man could "make it" if he tried, through hard work and guts, and that a man's worth was measured by what he did. As immigrants, they cherished the belief that everyone came to the frontier as a new man, free of his past and free to make of himself whatever he willed. Not only was the individual free of his individual past, but he was free of whatever status society had accorded him because of his family or ethnic group. The social reality did not fully correspond to the ideal represented in this belief but it was the belief in the ideal which shaped pioneer attitudes.

In Tlingit society status was determined by the interaction of heredity and the accumulation and use of material wealth (Parker, 1962, p. 226). Although the status of a Tlingit's household or lineage could be affected by the actions of individuals within it, the household or lineage existed through time essentially independent of its membership. The concept of its existence seems closer to the Japanese concept of family than to the American one. The Japanese concept of family,

expressed in the term Ie, extends beyond the family in its instrumental functions and is not confined to a group existing in a certain place and time (Siegel, 1963). As was the case with the Japanese, the traditional Tlingit injunctions for the welfare of the kin group, for its continuity and for its reputation, provided the framework for moral training and role learning.

The structure of the traditional Tlingit family or household was damaged by the high post-contact death rate which often left individuals without appropriate mentors (such as maternal uncles) and heirs, weakening the role of the family in influencing values and self-image (Miller, 1967, p. 164). This damage to the family made the Tlingit more open to the influence of the pioneers. The concept of the frontier "new man" seemed to provide an avenue to status and self-esteem in the dominant society. However, racism in the form of white supremacy was also part of the pioneers' value system, although not usually articulated as an ideal. Social reality included the message that a man's worth lies in what he does, and a postscript which said, but only if he's white. Gordon (1964, p. 113) discusses this type of conflicting message regarding access to the majority society and the effect on minorities in general in his "Assimilation in American Life."

The conflicting messages to the Tlingit were similar to the type of interpersonal communications which Bateson (1956) has called the "double-bind." The term double-bind describes a situation in which a person is confronted with contradictory injunctions. The double-bind hypothesis states that if the situation becomes habitual, and the person is prevented from leaving the interactional field, pathology will develop.

In Gastineau intermarriage and the cooperation with the Indians, forced upon the early settlers by their isolation, served to ameliorate the strong anti-Indian feelings common in that time. The admission of Indians to the Presbyterian Church also served to break down barriers. However, the struggle of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and the Alaska Native Sisterhood to gain voting rights and to eliminate segregation in schools and public buildings indicates that prejudice and discrimination were widespread regardless of how positive relations between individual whites and Indians may have been.

According to second generation white Gastineau residents, before the end of World War II there was less prejudice against Tlingits than presently exists. They claim that everybody "just grew up together and nobody was different." Most mixed-blood second generation residents say that, while not overt, racial prejudice and discrimination did exist. Oberg (1973), who worked in the area in 1931, writes:

> Favoritism and discrimination in the giving of fishing and trapping licenses, and the preference of white employers for white labor, make the lot of the Tlingit economically difficult. They find they may be educationally and legally the equal of their white neighbor, but in actual life they are discriminated against on account of their race (p. 6).

Interviews with, and observation of, individuals from each group do indicate a qualitative difference between the attitudes of those whites whose families came early in the history of Gastineau, those who arrived after World War II, and more recent arrivals.

The first-wave urban expatriates of the post-World War II period were educated and middle class. As an ideal, lack of prejudice toward other ethnic groups was a positive value for this group. They were, and are, firmly in favor of cultural assimilation of the Tlingit people

into the dominant culture but are also interested in preserving a record of the traditional Tlingit culture. They represent a generation strongly affected by the indigenismo movement discussed earlier, and there can be little doubt that they are interested in promoting the welfare of the Indians. However, their behavior was seen as paternalistic by many Indians, as it is by many contemporary liberals.

As part of an overall increase in Alaska's population during and after World War II, working class families also migrated to Gastineau. Racial prejudice is inversely related to socioeconomic status and education and it is not surprising that blue-collar immigrants should bring negative attitudes towards Indians with them (Greeley & Sheatsky, 1971). They had no previous knowledge of the vigorous and aggressive Tlingit culture which had existed prior to the arrival of the Americans and the white man's diseases, and since they felt the Indians were inferior, Tlingit pride only increased their antagonism.

Hawthorne, Belshaw, and Jamieson (1958) describe the whites' attitude toward the Indians of British Columbia in the 1950s, as follows: "[The Indian is seen as] a person to be Westernized by a policy determined and administered by the whites, as the proper charge of the churches for schooling, as a desired . . . worker or a soul to be saved, as a nuisance because of contrasting morals and institutions" (pp. 58-60). My experience in Gastineau and other Alaskan communities leads me to believe that many elements of the attitude described existed and still exist in Gastineau albeit in a milder form than in many Southeastern Alaska towns, and much milder than attitudes found in interior Alaskan communities.

The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 has created new roles and statuses for Alaskan Natives, a change to which non-Natives sometimes find it difficult to adjust. One non-Indian informant recounted that when a downtown apartment building was sold to the regional Tlingit-Haida Association, the rumor rapidly spread that the new owners would evict the current renters and rent to Tlingits only, a rumor completely unsupported by fact. Another informant, who had always considered himself a friend and benefactor of local Tlingits, said, "people resent the Land Claims, it stirred up a lot of hostility toward the Indians that wasn't there before, it's always been good here for the Indians."

Since the 1960s a new wave of urban expatriates has been added to the Gastineau population. These are for the most part young, well-educated people of liberal politics and antiestablishment values, who are seeking a new lifestyle. They represent a population shift to environmentally attractive rural areas, which has been increasing in all parts of the United States. They tend to be very positive in their public attitude toward Tlingit people and culture, and very much opposed to those whites they see as racist or paternalistic. Some teachers are included in this group of urban expatriates.

In addition to differences within the community in attitude toward Tlingits as a group, there is also a very real difference between attitudes toward full-blood, half-blood, and quarter-blood Indian individuals. Blood quantum interacts with the degree to which an individual possesses recognizable Indian physical characteristics and attitudes (as defined by the majority culture) to define phenomenologically who is "Indian" and who merely has Indian blood.

An individual's "Indianness" may not be consistently defined by different groups in the community. For example, the matriarch of the local Tlingit community considers only those who actively participate in Tlingit activities such as potlatches and Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood activities, and who can identify themselves in terms of moiety and clan membership as Indian, regardless of blood quantum. She verbally recognizes that there are Indians other than Tlingits in the community but they do not really exist in her life space.

The Superintendent of Schools, on the other hand, defines as Indian all students who are from families with any known Indian forebears. He includes as Indian students those who are 1/16th or more blood quantum, and participation in activities in the Indian community is not relevant. His definition is based on family surnames and his knowledge of intermarriage of Indians into the local family of that name. Understandably, this caused him to identify as Indian a certain number of students who do not identify themselves, nor would be identified by others, as Indian. When making up a list of Indian students for use in the needs assessment, the Superintendent's office also included the children of the one Negro/Caucasian family in town as well as the children of a school staff member who is Chinese, which suggests there is a white vs. non-white division operating as part of the criteria.

An arbitrary classification of the terms Indian, Tlingit, and Native will be adopted for use in this paper. In the text to follow Tlingit will refer to those members of the Gastineau community who are legally defined as Indians (i.e., one-fourth or more blood quantum), who participate in Tlingit activities such as potlatches and who are

generally identified by others at Tlingit; the term Indian will include Tlingits (as defined hereinbefore) and residents who are of at least 1/16th Tlingit or other Indian ancestry, who may not participate in Tlingit activities and who are not consistently defined as Indian by others. The term Native refers to all Alaskan Natives and includes Eskimos and Athapaskans as well as Tlingits.

Although the town may not have completely accepted the Tlingit people, it has enthusiastically adopted their art forms for display. Totem poles bracket the sign displaying the town's name as you approach the city limits, and are seen in every store window in one form or another. Residents seem to have adopted the Tlingit "Totems" in much the same way as the Japanese adopted Christmas and its symbols. Like the Japanese, the whites generally use these symbols for commercial purposes without regard for their cultural significance. Some whites employ Tlingits to produce items using these symbols, much as the Japanese occasionally employ Americans for advice on how to display Christmas decorations. However, most non-Tlingits are as unaware of the meaning and the ownership rules associated with the Tlingit symbols, songs, and dances as most Japanese are unaware of the religious implications of Christmas. As a result Tlingit symbols may be used in ways seen by Tlingits as inappropriate or offensive.

This does not mean that the Tlingit themselves have not used Raven and other "Totems" in non-traditional ways. The 1890 census records that "they [the Tlingit] have been keener than the whites in seeing the possibilities of the tourist trade and sell their heirlooms and the crudest copies of their heirlooms for fabulous sums" (p. 44).

The Alaska Native Brotherhood. The Alaska Native Brotherhood, which will be referred to as the ANB, has played a major role in communities in Southeastern Alaska from its inception in 1912, and has provided the nucleus of the present statewide Alaska Federation of Natives. The parallel group for women, the Alaska Native Sisterhood, has been equally active and influential. At inception, the primary goal of the ANB was rapid assimilation of the Tlingit into white society (Oswalt, 1966) and they actively worked for equal U.S. citizenship rights for their members. They also campaigned for and won the right for Indian children to be accepted in territorial schools. Membership and organizational ties were regional as well as local and the ANB has been a force to be reckoned with by the whites since it was organized.

The ANB, previously cited as an example of Spicer's (1961) fusional integration, was modeled after mission societies which presented a model of social and political structure at a time when the high Tlingit death rate had disrupted previous social patterns. Although their stated aim was to do away with aboriginal customs, as Oswalt (1966) points out, they actually incorporated many customs into their organization and "in one sense, . . . served as a new institution through which the moieties reciprocated" (p. 390). According to the rules of the ANB, business was to be conducted in English but this rule was often ignored and the more traditional villages used Tlingit. A 1920s photograph of Gastineau shows the Alaska Native Brotherhood hall to be the largest and most imposing building in the community, which suggests the organization played a significant role in the activities of the town. However, interest in the ANB waxed and waned in Gastineau, and when the hall burned, it was not replaced for several years.

The school. According to the history section of the local newspaper, the first school in the area was opened at Chilkoot in 1880 by the Tsimshian wife of a trader. It was soon turned over to a Presbyterian missionary and, according to the mission report, had seventy pupils in the winter of 1881-82. Another school opened in Hochna at the same time and enrolled sixty children. By the 1920s there were two schools in Gastineau, the public school for non-Natives and a Bureau of Indian Affairs school for Native children. The segregation of students was based on an act passed in 1905 which made provision for a territorial school system for "the education of white children and children of mixed blood who lead a civilized life" (Drucker, 1958, p. 14), while provision for Native students was left under the federal control. Janus House, a home for wayward or orphaned children run by the Presbyterian mission, supplied most of the enrollment of forty-five at the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools by the '30s. Although the famous Tlingit lawyer and ANB leader, William Paul, had in 1929 established the legal right for Indian children to attend public schools, schools in many Alaskan communities were still segregated until after World War II. In the late 1940s the Bureau of Indian Affairs school closed and its students began attending the public school. At the time the Bureau of Indian Affairs school closed, the Gastineau school building was a remodeled version of the building constructed in 1924, and was less than adequate for the K through 12 student population it served. A major addition was built in 1956 and an additional building was constructed in 1968, but even these did not keep pace with the growth in student population. (See Figure 2)

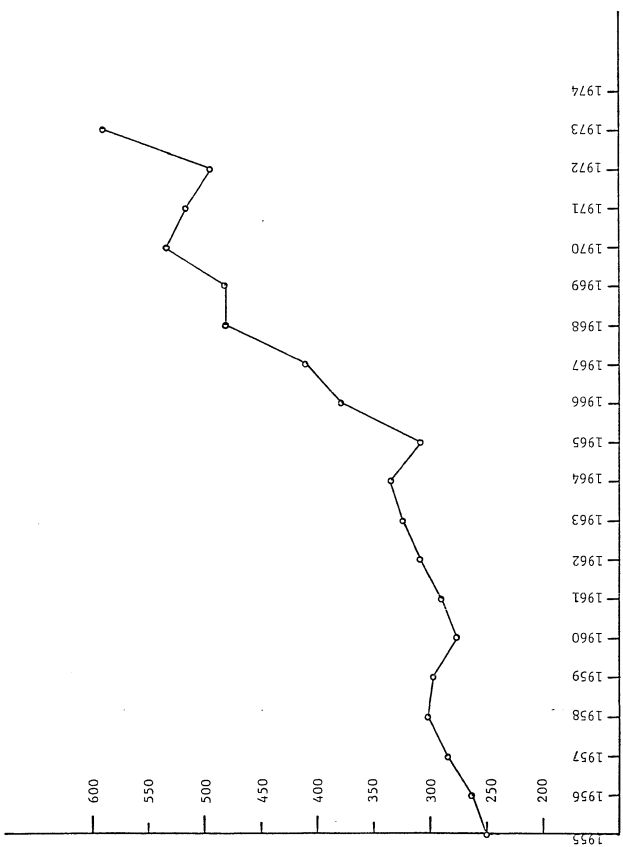


Fig. 2. Total School Enrollment, 1955 through 1973

Gastineau Today

Having presented some aspects of the historical context for the community, a profile of Gastineau today is now in order. The organizational structure of the community is stressed in this section because it is through an organizational innovation that the Indians and the school were drawn into an interaction which provided the chance for change to occur. The descriptive information on which this section is based was collected during the process of the needs assessment, from interviews, documents, observation, and some of the structured measures. This information provided descriptive data on the values and beliefs of the participants in the change process and on the social, economic, and political patterns of their community.

Organizations

The Alaska Native Brotherhood. The current ANB hall in Gastineau, while smaller than the 1920s hall, is still a major social center for the Tlingit community in the area. Potlatches for the dead, naming ceremonies, meetings with federal or state officials on Indian matters, and non-traditional social events such as weekly Bingo are held in the hall. The hall also serves an important function for the non-Tlingit community since it is the only facility of its kind in the area. The local Snowmobile Club holds its annual banquet there, and the city council and other organizations ask to rent or use the hall for large group activities. It is diagnostic of the subtle discrimination in the town that while the ANB frequently invites city officials to their activities, officials rarely attend and usually do not even reply to the invitation. However, these same people expect the ANB to

make the hall available whenever it is needed. Several Tlingits commented that the mayor, although invited, had not attended the dedication ceremonies for the new hall, and I had the impression that the slight is not likely to be forgotten.

Oswalt (1966) says that while most Indians support the aims of the ANB, only a small percentage of the Indians in any one community actually are members. This is the case in Gastineau where membership is not large and, as one informant put it, "they are all Andrew Governor's people." Being one of "Andrew Governor's people" is based both on moiety and clan membership and on membership in the Salvation Army. Business of the local chapter in a number of areas, including education, is carried on by committees appointed by ANB officers. Because only a small number of Tlingits in the community regularly attend meetings, there is a considerable overlap of membership on the various committees.

Drucker (1958) investigated the status of ANB leaders and reports that on the regional level leaders came from the most acculturated sectors, that some were of high (traditional) rank and others were not. On the local level he found that active ANB leaders were "in the greatest number of cases, chiefs, men who hold ranking titles in their respective clans" (p. 35). Andrew's position of leadership is based on genealogically determined rank rather than acculturation or success in the white man's world. He was reared by his maternal uncle, one of the last of the great Tlingit chiefs, in the traditional manner and has had only three years of formal education. When he was a young man, he worked without compensation for the uncle, both fishing and in the woods, and he speaks with bitterness of how this maternal uncle took advantage of the traditional relationship. At the same time he

is very proud of the large copper, the masks, the magnificent ceremonial robes and other traditional possessions he inherited from his uncle. His house is located, as Tlingit houses traditionally have been, facing the beach and is adorned with a large Raven totem. It is a large two-story house and has a seemingly unlimited capacity for visitors from other Southeastern communities who constantly come and go on ANB, Salvation Army, or clan business.

Andrew is a tall, powerfully built man who gives the impression of great dignity and restraint. He is very conscious of the fact that his command of English is not as great as that of some of the younger ANB members and does not usually speak much in public. When he does make a statement it is met with deference. According to one non-Tlingit linguist, Andrew is a great orator in his own language. He is also the leader of the regional Tlingit dance group. His greatest sorrow and an obsessive concern to him, is his lack of a traditionally appropriate heir, and the potential loss of the songs, dances, and heirlooms of his family.

There is much overlap between membership and leadership in the Gastineau ANB and the local Salvation Army. The men who are leaders and officers in both groups meet at Andrew's house at least once a week and, as I discovered during this study, many of the decisions made at the public meetings of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and its committees are actually first worked out in Andrew's house.

The ANB admits non-Indians to membership, and local white members include the minister of the Presbyterian Church, the local head of the Salvation Army, the state corrections officer, and at least one second-generation Gastineau resident. The clergy are vocal participants

in ANB meetings, particularly in decisions involving such things as alcoholism programs and child welfare.

The school designated the education committee of the ANB as the Indian Parent Committee for the Indian Education Act. It was an appointed, not elected, committee which was representative of active ANB members rather than area parents as a whole. However, its selection was consistent with the regulations concerning selection of committees at that time. Although children from Hochna attended the Gastineau schools, there were originally no Hochna residents on the Parent Committee as Hochna had its own chapter of the ANB, and relations between the two chapters were not usually good.

Churches. Local churches provide various degrees of linkage between the Indian and non-Indian groups in the area. As is the case in most of Southeast Alaska, the Presbyterians are the dominant religious group in Gastineau and its members included the elite of both Tlingits and whites. The Presbyterian minister and his wife have had several years of graduate work beyond the bachelor's degree and represent a more liberal and sophisticated kind of leadership than did the ministers of other local religious groups. The Catholic church is a small, old building and its priest serves other communities as well as Gastineau's small congregation. The local fundamentalist Protestant church has a large, new building and it serves a good-sized congregation of mostly blue-collar members, including some Baptists who have no local church of their own. Although it claims some Indian members, I saw no Indian members in the three visits I made to its services and activities. The Salvation Army membership, on the other hand, is

entirely Tlingit, with the exception of its official leader, who is appointed by the national organization. Andrew, head of the Alaska Native Brotherhood, has been a Salvation Army lay leader in the region for many years and the current head of the Salvation Army credits him with much of the organization's vigor. For those Tlingits involved in both the Salvation Army and the Alaska Native Brotherhood, it was hard to find an evening which was not scheduled with a meeting in one or the other.

Other organizations. There was an active Woman's Club in the small-town, garden and homemaker tradition to which the matriarch of the local Tlingit community belonged, but it was--by her description--not responsive to Native interests and her role seemed to be more that of emissary than regular member. The local Parent-Teacher Association's most notable contribution to local affairs was the "Community Birthday Calendar," marketed yearly to raise funds, which listed birthdays and anniversaries of both Indian and non-Indian residents. The calendar is a measure of the smallness of the community where everyone was acquainted with, and interested in, everyone else. However, the cohesiveness implied by the inclusion of all segments of the community was mostly illusory.

There is one local fraternal organization which excludes non-whites from its membership, as well as its bar and dining facilities. The local volunteer fire department had much of the quality of a club, its membership tended to be dominated by teachers with rural backgrounds, and no Indians were members at the time of the study. The town's organizations included some whose membership was exclusively

white, some to which both whites and Indians belonged, a small number which were predominantly white but included a few Tlingits, and those organizations like the Alaska Native Brotherhood which were predominantly Tlingit. Only the one fraternal organization had an official policy which excluded non-whites but there was a consensus among informants as to who would join which organization, which suggests limits to interaction exist on a covert basis.

Local Government

As is the case in many Alaskan cities, there is an overlap in governmental services and authority between the preexisting city and the more recently created unit, the borough, which occasionally leads to discord. The city council is made up of the more conservative and well-established business leaders of the town. One member is of Tlingit descent (1/4), but his assimilation of majority values and goals is so complete that neither he nor his colleagues consider him to be a member of the Indian community although his siblings are active in Native affairs locally and statewide. Roughly one-fourth of area residents are Indian, and the proportion has been higher in the past, but there has been only one man identified as a member of the Indian community on the borough assembly/school board in its history.

The six-person borough assembly, which is also the school board, represents a somewhat different portion of the population than the city council. In previous years it had been mostly, but not exclusively, the domain of the same group represented on the city council. However, in the year of this study a concentrated campaign by the more liberal element of teachers and younger residents had managed to elect a

(relatively) liberal slate of candidates. Three of the members had professional backgrounds. The other three--a carpenter, a bus driver, and the owner of a small store--were of a type which Alaskans fondly claim as typical of the "last frontier." Although not college graduates, they were widely read, open minded, and defied placement in the usual liberal vs. conservative pigeonholes.

The school board meetings were conducted in a way which I had rarely observed in such elected entities. Private citizens who attended the meetings were allowed to participate in a relaxed and informal manner which somehow never got out of hand. Much of this was undoubtedly due to the chairman of the borough assembly/school board, an urbane retired high school teacher with a remarkable aptitude for getting along with a variety of people without concealing his own point of view. He was, in addition to his borough duties, the editor of the weekly local newspaper. He was also an active force in providing dramatic plays and other cultural events for the community. He and his wife, also a retired teacher, can best be classified as first-wave expatriates and had lived in Gastineau for nearly twenty years. They had devoted their summers to traveling widely, including a trip to Communist China. Some of the blue-collar members of the community were suspicious of his politics (particularly after the visit to China), his interest in environmental issues, and his courtly manner. However, he was accepted by most as a town fixture and he moved imperturbably from the social setting of second-wave urban expatriates to the city council's inner circle of "hard right" businessmen with apparent ease. His paper gave excellent coverage to Alaska Native Brotherhood affairs and the portion of the paper devoted to the history of the area paid due attention to the

indigenous residents of Gastineau, but his interaction with the Indian community was more business than social.

The School

For twenty-five years the chief administrator-superintendent of the Gastineau School District was Dan James. While informants differed in the degree of approval they gave his personal qualities, there is clear agreement that he was financially conservative (tight-fisted), completely in control (authoritarian), and traditional (reactionary) in his view of education. His attitudes toward Indians are perhaps best illustrated by an incident involving a graduating senior who was a member of one of the community's mixed-blood families. When this student, who now holds a doctorate, went to ask why he hadn't been scheduled for a conference about where he should go to college, the superintendent pointed out the window to the harbor full of fishing boats and said, "That's where you belong, not in college." The current superintendent was a James' protege and his choice to be his successor as superintendent in 1967.

In the summer of 1973 fire started in the old gymnasium and the 1924 section of the school was completely destroyed. Fire insurance more than covered construction of a new building on the site of the old and elementary school classes were being held there by the 1974-75 school year. A new high school had been constructed in 1972 and 1973. Most of the teachers interviewed regarded the fire as a blessing, but the Superintendent was devastated by the loss. Even in 1975, while talking to me about the fire, he was visibly distraught and left his desk to pace the floor while describing it. According to local

informants, his emotional reaction to the loss of the building was like the reaction one might expect of a man who had lost a child. His reaction to the fire illustrates his intense personal involvement and feelings of personal possession toward the school. At the time of his appointment as superintendent, he was also principal of both the high school and elementary school. In 1973-74 he continued to be involved in the day-to-day management of both schools to some extent, although, according to teachers, he had made an honest effort to grant autonomy to the principals. The degree of his involvement and control over the operation of the school district is illustrated by the fact that no correspondence by any member of the staff or administration relating to school affairs went out without his co-signature. He rarely missed a day without making a tour through the high school. His office was located in the same building as the elementary and middle school and he was frequently seen in the halls.

The Superintendent's involvement with local Indians dated from his affiliation as a staff member with the Presbyterian home for children which brought him to Gastineau in the 1940s. As is the case with many missionaries, he played the role of patron-broker in his relation with the Indians and he carried this role over when he became an educator. The terms patron and broker are used in the sense described by Paine (1971) in his Patrons and Brokers in the East Arctic. Paine points out that "they [the roles of patron or broker] may be embraced alternately, or even in combination by the same person" (p. 21). The distinction between patron and broker is made on two bases: that of values, in that the patron circulates values of his own choosing while the broker "purveys values that are not his own and manipulates and

alters them in the process" (ibid., p. 21); and that of recruitment of clients, in that the patron recruits followers by his powers to dispense favors while the broker attracts followers because they believe him able to influence the person who controls the favors. In the patron-client relationship, the patron promotes the client's dependence on him and his reward lies in the embracement by the client of the patron's values. Informants in the community cited several instances of favors Indians had received from the Superintendent and instances where his advocacy had saved Indian members of the community from calamity. Several members of the Indian Parent Committee felt under obligation to the Superintendent for past favors and advocacy. The Superintendent himself related a number of instances in which he had acted as a benefactor for Indians in the community and, in the process, communicated clearly the type of reciprocal behavior he expected from those he benefited. He said he did not like to deal with young, militant Indians, and it was clear he did not care to be involved in reciprocal exchanges where he could not choose the values and control the exchange. The Superintendent controlled both positive and negative sanctions, according to informants in the Indian community. One informant told of an instance where an Indian high school student had witnessed a member of the staff strike another Indian student; the witness testified in court against the staff member and, as a result, was suddenly told by a staff member--a few days before graduation--that he could not graduate. Whether or not this and other reports were factual is not important--what is important is that the Superintendent was believed by the Indians to possess the power to enforce such sanctions.

The Faculty

The staff for the 1974-75 school year consisted of seventeen full-time and one half-time faculty members at the high school, and eighteen full-time faculty in the elementary/middle school, supplemented by six teachers' aides in the elementary building. There was a wide range of experience within the faculty at both levels, from first-year teachers to those with over twenty years experience. The median number of years of teaching experience at the high school level was eight and at the elementary school, seven.

The high school was a handsome new building at the edge of town with a core of open classroom space, which by the second year had been barricaded off into separate classrooms by bookcases and cupboards. A workshop on the use of open classroom space had been held before classes were moved into the building, but had had little or no apparent effect. At the high school level most teachers "doubled" as coaches or advisors to various activity groups. The teachers' room at the high school was actively used both as a lunchroom and as a sanctuary from contact with students. There was comfortable seating on couches and chairs, a long worktable, a coat rack, and a set of boxes for faculty mail in the room. The available reading material was mostly Juneau or Anchorage newspapers, several days old, and Sports Illustrated. There were usually several outdated copies of the National Instructor but no one was ever seen reading them. There were no other education-related or professional journals in evidence. The principal's office was joined to the teachers' room by a four-foot long hall but he rarely entered the room except when official staff meetings were held there. This territoriality was also respected by students who would not knock on the door to

seek a teacher except in emergencies.

Except for one teacher, all faculty members--old and new--used the teachers' room. That teacher enjoyed special status since he had once been selected as Alaska's outstanding teacher of the year, as was indicated by his possession of a small office of his own off the chemistry lab. No other teacher, not even the counselor who had been at the school much longer, had his own office. He attended staff meetings but other than that rarely interacted in any way with the rest of the staff or the principal. More senior members of the community and the school staff always used him as an example of the past or present excellence of the high school and, indeed, student comments and observation verified that he is an excellent teacher for the well-motivated, above-average student. His classes are the local equivalent of advanced placement classes in larger high schools.

The primary school buildings (K through 2) was physically separated from the elementary school by about 150 feet of schoolyard. This separation seemed to make the five primary teachers a more cohesive work group and they shared information, materials, and activities as much as possible. Their teachers' room was little more than a large closet, but it was stuffed with materials and buzzed with active interaction. The elementary teachers' room was less used than the high school's, perhaps because it was not centrally located. It contained many materials and education-related publications, and the principal and aides used the room as often as did the teachers.

Each elementary teacher seemed to lead a separate life within his or her own classroom, although there was some team teaching between those pairs of teachers who taught the same grade. There were the

usual differences in orientation and attitude between the high school and the elementary/middle school teachers. Elementary teachers were more "child oriented," more concerned with affective aspects of education, and less subject oriented. High school teachers felt themselves to be of higher professional status than elementary/middle school teachers, as illustrated by the comments of a teacher who returned to the school system after brief employment in the private sector. He said he was being punished for having left the school by being assigned to teach middle school rather than his previous high school subject.

Teachers made up the majority of college-educated adults in Gastineau but there was little feeling of esprit de corps based on the teaching profession itself. The younger female teachers were a social subgroup within the high school set and they waged an ongoing verbal war against the males on the staff in defense of their feminist views. They, and the younger female teachers at the elementary level, were the mainstay of the local drama group and, with other second-wave urban expatriates, lived a lively if limited social life. Single female teachers felt the lack of single college-educated males in Gastineau keenly and this was cited as the reason for most teacher turnover. Teachers themselves said there was little socializing between high school and elementary teachers as a whole.

As previously noted, the school system in Gastineau is more stable, with less turnover in personnel, than most Alaskan rural school systems. This stability was most striking in the case of administration but, as shown by an examination of state educational directories, was also true to a lesser degree of the faculty. While only one teacher had been born and reared in the community, there was a small group of

teachers who had been there at least fifteen years and whose primary reference group was locally rather than occupationally defined. In their responses during interviews, this group of Educator-Locals indicated they had chosen to be employed in a rural community because they felt the values and attitudes of the better educated residents matched their own. In contrast, the "urban expatriates" among the educators had used their educator affiliation as access to a locality where they could establish a desired lifestyle without regard for values of prior residents. Their value systems were referenced to national occupational and social status norms rather than local ones.

The majority of teachers in both elementary and high school had attended one of the smaller state universities or a teacher's college. A minority--second-wave urban expatriates who had attended larger "name" universities and whose values deviated most from local norms--were from middle and upper-middle class families and had had a major other than education. It was this smaller group of teachers with their more permissive views on classroom discipline and less conventional lifestyle who attracted the most criticism from local residents. Havighurst and Neugarten (1962) cite a number of studies indicating that since the 1920s the overall majority of teachers is coming increasingly from lower-middle and upper-lower classes. Interview material demonstrates that this was the case in Gastineau but, as Spindler (1963) discusses, exposure to national occupational values presented in college had modified the values acquired in the family setting for most teachers.

Spindler (1963) believes that the emergent American values of relativism, high value placed on the group, a present-time orientation, an emphasis on sociability and on sensitivity to the feelings of others

are patterned into institutions of professional education, teacher training schools, and the literature of education. These emergent values are often in conflict with the traditional values of thrift, self-denial, success and hard work, absolute moral values, and a strong emphasis on the individual which are transmitted in lower-middle class families from which most teachers come.

Spindler describes three categories of adaptation by the teacher to the problem of disjunction between his family values and the values of professional education: the "reaffirmative traditionalist" overcompensates in the direction of his original value system; the "compensatory emergentist" overcompensates in the direction of the new emergent value system, and the "vacillator" swings between different modes of interaction. The "adjusted" teacher combines aspects from both value systems into a creative synthesis. As Spindler points out, teachers of each type exhibit selective biases as culture transmitters to students. Although none of the teachers in Gastineau would fit exactly into Spindler's (1963) categories, there was a tendency for elementary teachers to fit his "adjusted" type while most of the high school teachers fit the more "overcompensating" categories.

As is the case in most attempts to develop a simple classification system that will allow categorization of members of complex societies, Spindler's classification of reactions does not adequately cover all reactions to the disjunction between traditional and emergent values. Those teachers in the non-academic areas such as shop and physical education seemed to feel little or no pressure to accept or react to the emergent value system of the academic educator. They seemed quite comfortable with traditional values and with attitudes

toward students and minority group members which would not be considered socially acceptable among more academically oriented teachers. One Gastineau coach was quite open about his attitude toward Indian students and Indian causes. He felt that special programs for Indians, and the Claims Settlement Act in particular, were unfair because "after all we were all immigrants here, the Indians weren't here at the beginning either so why should they have more right than anybody else?" He stated with conviction that Indian students just weren't as coordinated as whites and that was why they weren't as good in sports. The fact that Tlingits were considerably overrepresented on the Gastineau winning basketball and wrestling teams did not modify his belief.

As a group, the elementary teachers were more oriented toward emergent values than were the high school teachers. Dealing as they were with younger students who less often posed an intellectual or physical threat to their authority, it was easier for the elementary teachers to be service- and child-oriented. Elementary teachers gave higher ratings than high school teachers did to those items on the Educational Priorities Questionnaire (Appendix K), included in Factor 2, which was labeled "innovation" or "current educational trends." There was a statistically significant difference (30 df, $t = 3.2254$, $p < .01$) in factor scores, on Factor 2, between the two groups. Factor 2 items included those listed below:

5. To have students take field trips to historic places
20. That reading and writing and arithmetic be taught through games
30. To have classes to help children get along better with others and to reduce racial prejudice
41. To have a team of teachers for one class

51. That local parents be employed in the schools

58. To have individualized learning programs so that students can learn at their own rate

63. For parents to have lawyers available to them who could advise them of their rights in the schools

67. For students to learn about the history (before and after the white men came) of the Gastineau area

69. That teachers receive training in how to work successfully with children of cultural backgrounds different from their own

74. To have Tlingit arts and crafts (dance, weaving, legends, carving, etc.) included in the elementary school curriculum

Administrators' scores did not match those of their staffs', the elementary principal being less oriented toward innovation than his staff and the high school principal being more oriented toward innovation than his staff. The Superintendent was less oriented toward innovation than either of his principals, judging by his ratings of items on the Educational Priorities Questionnaire. Teachers as a group, and Indian parents, were more oriented toward innovation (as defined by the items on Factor 2) than were non-Indian parents.

Based on observations in the classroom and on interview material, it was my impression that the quality of the elementary/middle school staff was at least as good as that observed in schools in larger cities. There was the usual range of ability and dedication within the staff which included several exceptionally capable teachers. There was no overt indication of prejudicial behavior by the staff toward children based on the child's race. In the case of children who were less than full-blood Indians, many teachers were unaware of which children were Indian and which were not. The Gastineau School District is small and differential expectations of academic achievement are likely to be based

on knowledge of the history of individual families rather than ethnicity alone. However, elementary school teachers were quite aware that any Indian child was more likely than a non-Indian child to have come from a home where parents had less education and held less skilled jobs--even though there were mixed-blood Indian families represented on all levels of socioeconomic status. Many of the teachers probably based their expectations for the children on the same cues indicative of family socioeconomic status which have been described by Rist (1970) as operative in ghetto classrooms--which would tend to bias teacher behavior subtly against Indian children as a group, merely because Indian parents had fewer educational or occupational opportunities. That some differential expectations for Indian children existed was indicated by statements from the more experienced teachers, that Indian children tended to be more shy and to have less developed verbal skills at entry than non-Indian children, and that their parents were less interested in their academic achievement than were non-Indian parents. The belief about deficits in verbal skills was based on observation and seemed to have some factual basis. However, the lack of interest on the part of Indian parents was assumed because Indian parents rarely initiated contact with teachers.

Teachers who had taught in other elementary schools in the West which had a number of Indian students were very favorably impressed by the Indian students in Gastineau. Those teachers said that Indian children in other states were sullen, hostile, and passively resistant in the classroom, unlike the Tlingit children who were generally happy and cooperative.

Within the group of teachers as a whole, attitudes toward the Indians ranged from outright prejudice expressed by a few on the high school staff to the sympathy and appreciation for traditional Tlingit culture felt by several elementary teachers. However, all but one or two teachers held the belief that Indian parents were not as interested in their children's academic achievement as non-Indian parents were. This belief in the lack of interest of minority group parents in their children's schooling is so pervasive throughout the teaching profession that it can be regarded as myth. One function of myth, as suggested by Malinowski (1954), is to validate the cultural institutions of a culture, not to explain them intellectually, and to provide a common bond of social solidarity through a common faith. Possibly, belief in myth of the minority parents' disinterest functions to relieve feelings of guilt and inadequacy felt by the teachers in the face of failure to "equally educate" minority group children by providing an explanation which places the blame on the parents. The myth also could relieve educators of the need to modify practices within the school to meet minority needs since the cause of those needs is attributed to influences beyond the control of the school.

Goldman (1973) found that while teachers in an inner-city area believed parents did not care about their children's school progress, that inner-city parents "had high aspirations for their children" (p. 552). In Gastineau, students' reports of their parents' interest in and attitudes toward their school work showed no statistically difference between Indian parents and non-Indian parents (see items 32, 33, and 34 in Appendix H). Responses to interviews (Table 2) showed more Indian than non-Indian parents plan that their children attend

TABLE 2

SELECTED PARENT INTERVIEW RESPONSES

Interview Question	% Response of Indian Parents		% Response of non-Indian Parents	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
1. Do your children like school?	83	16	90	9
2. Has anything happened to your child at the school, with the teacher or with other children which made you unhappy?	33	66	47	52
22. Has your child's teacher ever visited your home?	10	90	15	84
23. Are any of the teachers personal friends of yours or your spouse?	17	82	42	57
24. Have you ever visited school outside of Parent-Teacher conference time?	63	36	93	6
25. Did you vote in the last school board election?	38	61	40	60
26. Do you belong to the PTA?	0	100	31	68
27. Do you expect your child to go to college?	76	24	58	42
28. Did you ever drop out of school?	69	31	32	64
29. Have any of your children dropped out of school?	36	64	14	86
30. Has your child attended potlatches?	68	32	N/A	N/A
31. Do you use Indian foods such as seal or seaweed in your home?	89	10	N/A	N/A
32. Would you like to have your child learn more about Tlingit customs and traditions?	100	0	N/A	N/A

college although they themselves had fewer years of schooling on the average than the non-Indian parents. Indian mothers averaged 9+ years of schooling, Indian fathers 10+ years, non-Indian fathers 12+, and non-Indian mothers 13+. Indian parents were more positive in their attitude toward teachers and the school than non-Indian parents, and more interested in school-sponsored classes for adults. Yet, after these results of questionnaires and interviews were communicated to Gastineau educators, they continued to speak of the Indian parents' lack of interest in their children's schooling.

Educators' attitudes toward minority groups have been discussed by a number of anthropologists. Ruth Landes is an anthropologist who has been particularly interested in teachers and the effect of their personal values on their professional performance. In her 1976 paper on teachers and their family cultures she examines the anxieties generated by value conflicts on the part of teachers who are newly middle class. She notes that "educators of subcultural origins feel anxious about conforming to middle class referents because of the clash with certain ancestral standards, habits, and comforts over which the individual has little conscious control" (p. 401). The conflict between the values imparted in childhood socialization and those encountered during training as a teacher seemed more severe and closer to the surface for the teacher who acted as a liaison to the Parent Committee than for most Gastineau teachers. That this conflict was unresolved and generated some anxiety is evidenced by his prefacing many of his value statements by, "I guess I'm just a redneck, but . . . ."

The principals. The high school principal came from a distinguished Southeast Alaskan family who had supplied him with values congruent with those of academic educators. He saw himself as responsive to students although interviews with students indicated that he had good rapport with only a minority of them. He also saw himself as responsive to the needs of minorities, but here again there was a discrepancy between his image of himself and his actual behavior.

Many of his staff saw the high school principal as passive and possessing limited organizational ability. Unlike the elementary principal, he was never observed disagreeing with, or challenging, the Superintendent. The urban expatriates on his staff scorned him for lack of imagination and his alliance with the old guard; the rural conservatives on his staff criticized him for his permissiveness with the students, his humanistic values, and his failure to "back his teachers up." He expressed no interest in advancement in administration if it involved leaving his home territory, but a number of the staff believed he was waiting for the Superintendent to resign so he could step into the position. In interactions with others he was diffident and a little distant. This lack of warmth probably accounted for the fact that those students who were not part of his "in" group felt that he really didn't care about students, and, in fact, he was negligent about attending activities such as banquets and games which did not involve the students he knew best.

In contrast, the elementary principal was a tense, constrained young man from a lower middle-class background who supported traditional values. He believed in physical punishment, was disturbed by the "permissive" orientation of many of his teachers, and was inclined to send

out directives emphasizing order and quiet in the halls. He was much more organization-oriented than student-oriented. However, contrary to what I would have predicted when I first met each of the principals, the elementary principal was the more popular with his staff. They had found that if one waited out his initial negative reaction toward any new proposal, he then would be fairly open to new ideas from his staff. He was willing to "push" the Superintendent on certain issues and effectively defend his staff from onslaughts from the community, two activities which are generally seen by teachers as desirable and appropriate behavior for principals. During interviews elementary teachers frequently mentioned that their values differed from those of the principal, but usually followed their criticisms with a defense of his competence in his job. The elementary principal was actively involved in statewide committees and work groups through the Department of Education, which provided him with contacts which would probably further his career. It was my impression that he was oriented toward doing as good a job as he possibly could and was interested in advancing up the administrative ladder, but not in Gastineau.

Community-school Relations

The attitudes of teachers toward the community were varied. Some teachers felt the community was hostile and uncooperative, while others saw it as friendly and interested in school activities. The structured interviews of local parents and the Educational Priorities Questionnaire (Appendix K) provided some data on attitudes, as well as revealing a number of interesting differences between Native parent, non-Native parent and teacher groups. Item 77 on the questionnaire,

"Teachers in this school are, as a group, as good as one could expect them to be," was answered Yes by only 49% of the non-Native parents while 81% and 82%, respectively, of the Native parents and teachers agreed. The response to item 76, "Gastineau schools are as good or better than schools in other places," was more positive. A total of 74% of non-Native parents agreed with the statement while 88% and 85%, respectively, of Native parents and of teachers agreed. Similar questions covered during the interview produced the same patterns of response.

The questionnaire showed a high rate of agreement between all parents and teachers on which programs should have the highest educational priority. All chose reading and career education as most important. As would be expected, the support for teaching Native Alaskan or Tlingit material in the schools was less consistent. However, as can be seen by the histograms in Table 3, there was little active opposition to such programs from teachers or non-Native parents. Interview responses (Table 2), which reflected a more representative sample of the community than the questionnaire, showed that Native parents were unanimous in their support for heritage and language programs. Interview results also showed that there was less interaction between Native parents and the school, and less social interaction between Native parents and the staff than was the case with non-Native parents. Their lower rate of interaction with the school, in combination with a significantly higher positive rate of response to questionnaire item 63, "How important is it for parents to have lawyers available to them who could advise them of their rights in the schools," suggests that Native parents feel more alienated from the school and its staff than do

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES ON THOSE QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS SHOWING NUMERICAL SCORE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SUBGROUPS

HOW IMPORTANT IS IT . . .

Item 15. For the history and culture of Native Alaskans to be taught in school?

		Native Parents	Non-Native Parents	Teachers
	7.500)			
Greatest	7.000)	****	*****	*******
	6.500)			
Very Great	6.000)	*****	****	********
	5.500)			
Great	5.000)	**	*********	*********
	4.500)			
Fair	4.000)	*****	*********	******
	3.500)			
Little	3.000)	*	***	
	2.500)			
Very Little	2.000)		***	*
	1.500)			
None	1.000)	*	**	*
	0.500)			
Mean		5.111	4.378	5.250

Item 46. To have school psychologists?

		Native Parents	Non-Native Parents	Teachers
	7.500)			
Greatest	7.000)	****	*****	*****
	6.500)			
Very Great	6.000)	***	***	**
	5.500)			
Great	5.000)	***	*********	*********
	4.500)			
Fair	4.000)	*****	**********	**********
	3.500)			
Little	3.000)	*	*******	***
	2.500)			
Very Little	2.000)		*****	***
	1.500)			
None	1.000)		*****	***
	0.500)			
Mean		5.250	3.955	4.342

TABLE 3 (CONTINUED)

Item 56. For teachers to receive higher salaries?

		Native Parents	Non-Native Parents	Teachers
	7.500)			
Greatest	7.000)	***	****	*********
	6.500)			
Very Great	6.000)	**	*******	*******
	5.500)			
Great	5.000)	*******	*********	******
	4.500)			
Fair	4.000)	******	**********	*********
	3.500)			
Little	3.000)		*****	*
	2.500)			
Very Little	2.000)		**	
	1.500)			
None	1.000)		****	**
	0.500)			
Mean		5.111	4.386	5.324

Item 62. To have a Tlingit language and heritage course offered as an elective in high school?

		Native Parents	Non-Native Parents	Teachers
	7.500)			
Greatest	7.000)	****	***	*********
	6.500)			
Very Great	6.000)	****	*********	*******
	5.500)			
Great	5.000)	****	*****	*********
	4.500)			
Fair	4.000)	****	*********	******
	3.500)			
Little	3.000)	*	****	
	2.500)			
Very Little	2.000)		*	*
	1.500)			
None	1.000)	*	****	**
	0.500)			
Mean		5.111	4.409	5.359

Note: Histograms represent the relative frequency of each category of response within each group. They do not represent actual numbers.

non-Native parents, in spite of their more positive rating of it. In response to an interview question which asked what makes a good teacher, Native parents emphasized the importance of a teacher genuinely liking children, being patient, and taking time with individual students. Non-Native parents put their emphasis on discipline, the ability to control the class, and on being respected.

Students. Academically, there was a major difference between Indian and non-Indian students, as indicated by the scores on the Gates-MacGinitie Reading Test (Figure 3). Although the faculty and administration were aware that Indian students did less well in school than their non-Indian peers, there had never been any special programs to aid Indian students as a group. There were no significant differences in response to the pencil-and-paper measures of self-esteem between Indian and non-Indian students on either the elementary or secondary level. The results of statistical analysis of self-esteem measures were as follows: elementary boys - df 1, 109 $F = .7356$

elementary girls - df 1, 107 $F = .1989$

secondary girls - df=1, $\chi^2 = 1.02$

secondary boys - df=1, $\chi^2 = .00013$

There were, however, significant differences between male Indian and male non-Indian secondary students on another pencil-and-paper measure, that of locus-of-control. Locus-of-control refers to an individual's feelings of whether he is in control of what happens to him or whether factors external to himself, like luck or prejudice, control his fate. Male Indian students report feelings of less control over their own fate than non-Indian males, although there is no difference between

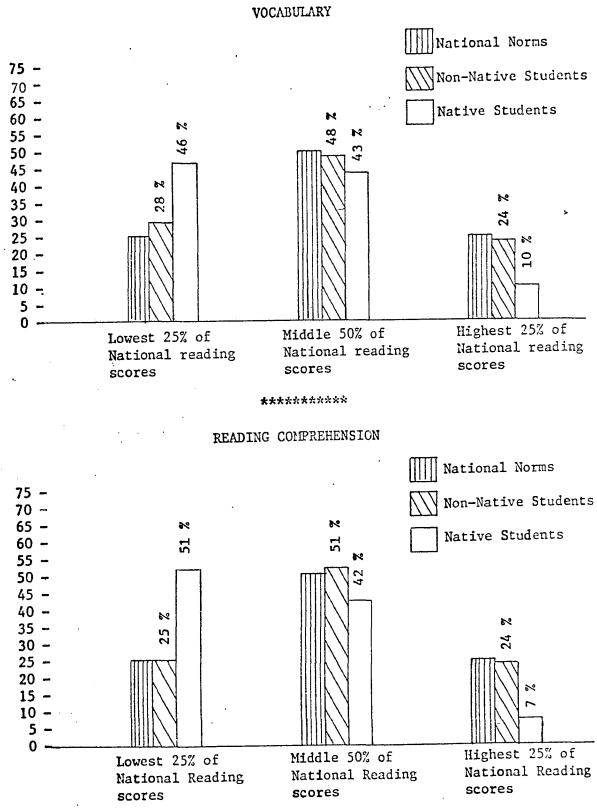


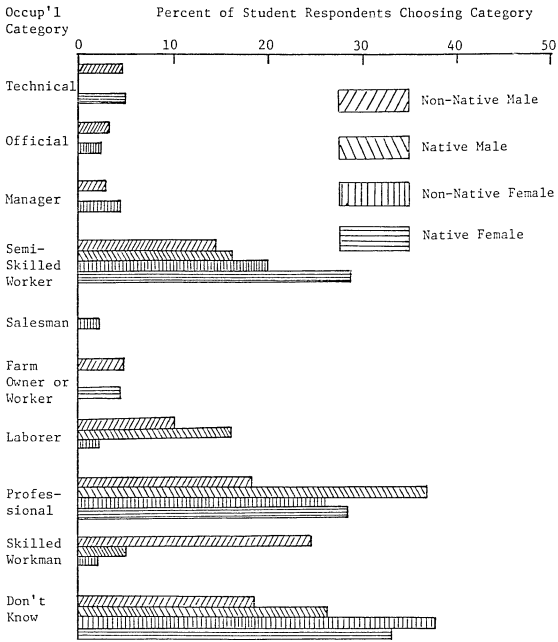
Figure 3. Reading Scores by Ethnic Group, Grades 2 through 11.

female Indians and non-Indians.

The area showing the greatest difference between male Indians and non-Indians on the secondary school level was in vocational aspirations. The item to which they responded was, "When you finish your education, what kind of a job do you think you will have?" As can be seen in Figure 4, more than three times the percentage of Native males than non-Native males expected to have professional occupations, while almost twice the percentage said they did not know what kind of a job they might have. It is also interesting that in a town where the majority of the men are employed in blue-collar jobs, 25% of the non-Native males expected to be skilled workmen while none of the Native males did. These differences did not exist between Native and non-Native girls. This pattern of vocational aspirations is in line with educational aspirations in Alaska, as reported by Fields (1975). He found aspirations for postsecondary education were higher for minority students than for Caucasians, however, the percentage of minority students realizing their educational aspirations was lower.

Rather than expectations, student interest in a variety of occupations was assessed by the vocational section of the Barclay scales. Results for the secondary level were analyzed by ethnic group and no statistically significant ($p < .05$) differences were found except in response to one item. That item was one of those substituted as being of local interest: "carving totem poles or other things." Approximately 25% of non-Native male and female students expressed interest in carving while 75% of the Native male and 64% of the Native female students were interested.

These student questionnaire responses were of interest to the



Note: Complete question with categories is included in Appendix H as question 38.

Fig. 4. Secondary Students' Occupational Expectations

study because they emphasized the discrepancy between parents' and teachers' perceptions of education-related problems of Indian students, and problems as perceived by an outside professional on the basis of an assessment.

Male Indian secondary students, when interviewed, expressed more interest in Tlingit heritage and language programs than did females. Several mixed-blood Indian girls made negative comments about Indians and Indian activities during interviews, and one mixed-blood girl (not Tlingit) denied being Indian. Although Indian males expressed interest in Tlingit language and heritage courses and Tlingit activities such as carving, they did not show a preference for traditional activities when they viewed the pictures in the Instrumental Activities Inventory (described on page 65). Table 4 shows Instrumental Activities Inventory patterns for male students. Both Indian and non-Indian boys consistently preferred those pictures illustrating hunting, playing basketball and repairing an automobile. Most of the boys explained their choices on the basis of not wanting to be confined to the indoors. The choice pattern also did not distinguish between those students who were college-bound and those who planned on working at blue-collar jobs. Even those who said they intended to become teachers rejected the picture of a male teacher standing before an elementary school class. The adolescent male society values outdoor activity, action and variety, and their comments in response to the IAI pictures reflect those values, e.g., "rather get out and do something than sit in an office," "don't like being cooped up inside," "don't like teaching cause it's the same year in and year out." The girls, both Indian and non-Indian, showed

TABLE 4

INSTRUMENTAL ACTIVITIES INVENTORY RESPONSES

Picture Titles	Boys				Girls			
	Native		Non-Native		Native		Non-Native	
	Like Most	Like Least	Like Most	Like Least	Like Most	Like Least	Like Most	Like Least
Hunter	9	0	7	0	2	3	0	2
Doctor	1	5	0	3	1	1	3	2
ANB Meeting	0	5	0	3	3	0	0	0
Lawyer	3	5	0	3	1	0	2	2
Tlingit Dancer	2	1	0	3	2	1	1	0
Female Teacher	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0
Office Worker	0	9	1	1	3	0	2	1
Logger	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Construction Worker	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1
Basketball	9	0	6	0	2	0	0	0
Carver	4	0	0	2	1	1	2	0
Draftsman	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	0
Fishing	3	1	2	0	1	1	2	1
Dipnetter	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	1
Mechanic	7	2	7	0	0	2	1	1
Male Teacher	1	6	2	1	2	0	1	2

Note: Numbers indicate number of students who chose picture as one of their 'like most' or 'like least' categories.

no consistent pattern of preference; their likes and dislikes were distributed over all the pictures.

The results for boys from the IAI are similar to those from interviews reported by Coleman (1961) in his Adolescent Society. Boys' responses from the ten high schools studied by Coleman indicated that "boys like to spend a great deal of their time in fairly active outdoor pursuits, such as sports, boating . . . also spend time . . . working on their car" (p. 12). As in Coleman's study, student interview responses in Gastineau indicated athletes were the most admired by their peers, and academic achievement received relatively little recognition from students or from the school itself.

Until the '60s the majority of students were Tlingit, and the gradual nature of the transition from majority to minority status may account in part for the remarkable lack of racial tensions in the school, particularly the high school. Students who have been in other schools, as well as adult observers, have commented on the positive social climate and lack of racial tension among the students. In other cities in Alaska the student interactional patterns resemble those described by Tindall (1975) in the Utah high school he observed. The Utah interactional patterns reflected the bicultural patterns in the community, and although students met and talked in such constrained situations as classes and clubs, outside of such situations students kept to their own cultural group. In Gastineau, however, Indian and non-Indian students met and talked on the playground, in the halls, in the local teenage restaurant hangouts, and at basketball games. There was no observable separation by race among the students, and dating between Indian and non-Indian students was common. The elementary

level Barclay has a "Group Nominations" sociometric section which taps general social desirability, leadership skills, conformity to class-(room) mores, and verbal interaction. There were no significant differences between Indian and non-Indian students on any of these measures. Scores were broken down by sex and by age group, e.g., grades 3, 4, and 5, and grades 6 and 7, but no significant differences were found. The high school version of Barclay, the BLNI, called for the student to select another student to rate him/her. This functioned as a rough sociometric measure since, presumably, the student would select someone he/she knew and felt accepted by to do the rating. The results of these choices, broken down by ethnic group, are represented in Table 5.

TABLE 5

RATER CHOICE BY ETHNIC GROUP

Students Choosing	Indian Raters Chosen	Non-Indian Raters Chosen	Total
Indian Students Choosing	(E = 6.25) 13	(E = 18.75) 12	25
Non-Indian Students Choosing	(E = 21.5) 15	(E = 64.5) 71	86
Total	28	83	111

Note: E = expected number chosen.

Since Indian students represent approximately 1 in 4 students available to be chosen as rater in the total high school population, if choices were made on the basis of traits randomly distributed in the high school population and were not influenced by ethnicity, we would

expect students to select three times as many non-Indians as Indian raters. This is clearly not the case and ethnicity does play some role in interpersonal relations in the high school. Inspection of individual choices indicated that long-term non-Indian residents were more likely to choose Indians as raters than were more recent residents.

Although ethnicity does play some role in interpersonal relations, the interracial situation in Gastineau High School is still markedly different from that in other Alaska high schools. One Indian student who had attended other high schools described the local situation as follows: "In Anchorage there's a lot of stuff like calling us 'salmon eater.' None of that here. Some of the parents get hot if their kid is too friendly with a Native. The kids are okay but some of the teachers aren't, like the coach he never picks an Indian to be a leader." Other Indian students confirmed his report of little or no discrimination between students, some discrimination by faculty, and some by parents. Indian parents also described incidents of discrimination by staff in high school, such as replacing an Indian girl with a "more suitable" white girl as a heroine in a play.

A questionnaire on how many activities each student was involved in was also administered in the high school (Appendix L). Responses were weighted to give a score based on type of participation (passive, active, or leader) as well as the number of activities. The format of the questionnaire was based on Barker's (1962) Big School, Small School study. There were no significant differences in participation rate or the type of participation between Indian and non-Indian students. The student most often named as the best athlete by interviewees, and who was also a class officer, was the son of one of the Indian Parent

Committee members.

Within the group of Indian students I observed no evidence of effects of traditional clan status or membership on social interactions. Some Gastineau Indian students knew their moiety, but few knew the name of their clan and they denied that clan membership had any effect on their lives.

Although their values and activities indicated that adolescent Indians were well on their way to being assimilated by the dominant culture, they were quite aware of the difference between the democratic ideal and the social reality in the world outside their own peer group. The mixed messages they received in the world outside school are perhaps best illustrated by a statement made to me by a prominent white member of the Gastineau community: He said he thought that the carvings in the Hochna clan houses had probably been done by a German naturalist, who spent a year there in the later 1800s, because "Indians couldn't do work that fine." This statement was made by a man who was widely known for his interest in Tlingit traditional culture and who had acted in the role of patron and benefactor to a number of Indians.

To an observer from a larger city the students seem an orderly and cooperative group, although many local parents feel there is a discipline problem in the high school. The types of infractions locally regarded as problems are very mild in comparison to offenses common in larger high schools. There are a number of classes of only eight to ten students in the high school and the pupil/teacher ratio is roughly 23:1 in the elementary and middle school. About half of the students walk to school. The other half live over a mile away and are bused.

A few students, mostly those from Hochna, live twenty or thirty miles up the highway from Gastineau.

Hochna

Busing students from Hochna is a fairly recent arrangement. In the early 1900s Hochna was equal to Gastineau in size and appearance, judging by photographs from that time. Over the years the Tlingit village lost population as families moved to Gastineau to be near employment and it now has fewer than 100 residents. The Hochna school has gradually grown smaller and now is threatened with closure because it has only eight pupils. The two settlements were traditional basketball rivals and fights between Gastineau and Hochna youths were not uncommon even in the 1960s--particularly after basketball games. A 1969 state report on Hochna describes it as a "very basketball-minded village" so it is not surprising that the tradition rivalry and dissension between the two settlements would erupt into fights at basketball games.

Gastineau informants, both Tlingit and non-Tlingit, describe "those people" in Hochna as impossible to get along with. Most of the residents of Hochna are full-blood Tlingits and the village has a long-time reputation for being isolationist, contentious, and suspicious of outsiders, particularly white outsiders. DeLaguna and McClennan, experienced anthropologists, attempted to work in Hochna in the 1950s and were forced by the hostility of the residents to move their studies to Yakutat.

Until the last three to five years Hochna adolescents attended high school in Mt. Edgecombe or Sheldon Jackson rather than travel down

the highway to Gastineau. One Hochna resident in her early thirties said she would have been afraid to go to high school in Gastineau because of the hostility between the two communities. Although some of the dissension may be based on traditional rivalties between the Chilkat villages that existed before the present community of Gastineau was founded, there also seems to be a racial aspect. A white Gastineau informant recounted bitterly that when their team played any of the predominantly Native communities such as Hoonah, Hochna residents would come down just to cheer for the opponents.

In the last few years most Hochna adolescents attended Gastineau High School. There is some tendency for them to form a separate group. Most are recognizable "Indian" rather than "of Indian descent" and have language difficulties. Tlingit is still the first language in a number of Hochna homes and there are few available adult models who use standard English. One member of the Indian Parent Committee said that students from Hochna were embarrassed by their poor English skills and so did not speak out in class unless absolutely necessary. The separation between high school students from Hochna and other students was not so distinct as to be routinely observable. There was, however, a tendency for Hochna students to choose one another on the sociometric measure administered in the high school. What small degree of social segregation does exist might be explained by friendship patterns established prior to high school, but several informants felt it was based on "Indianness" and language differences.

The Hochna reservation has the potential for generating major change throughout the entire area. A large, high-grade iron ore deposit is located on the reservation which, if mined, would cause an explosive

expansion in the population and the economy. The deposit has been known since the 1800s but is an ore (magnetite) which requires a different and more expensive smelting process than other iron ores. A Japanese firm currently has an option on developing the mine if the continuing world resource drain makes such development economically feasible. Cost factors are currently nearing the break-even point and the location of the proposed natural gas pipeline could provide the crucial factor to make mining the ore economically feasible.

The history of the Hochna community's management of the iron ore reserve provides an example of current social and economic interaction of the Hochna Chilkat with their Tlingit neighbors. Historically, the community has been factionalized on the basis of internal clan rivalries as well as rivalries between themselves and other communities. When the Native Claims Settlement was made, the Hochna Chilkat chose to remain outside the settlement and on reservation status so they would not have to share potential profits from the mine with other Tlingits. The decision originally excluded them from Claims Settlement Act payments, but a recent court decision allows them to share in the settlement monies. A bitter schism has developed within Hochna between those who would, and those who would not, allow the deposit to be mined. According to geologists, surface rather than underground mining would be required and would leave a large hole where the reservation now exists. Mining is also expected by its opponents to threaten the world-famous eagle feeding grounds and the various fish runs up the river. The possibility of total destruction of the traditional land, community, and lifestyle is considered too great a cost for any amount of money by one portion of the community.

The current bitter battle within the Hochna community, involving the ownership and fate of traditional artifacts, provides another example of the factionalism and internal dissension which have characterized the Hochna Chilkats in reports about them as early as 1890. Several descriptions of violent dissension in Hochna are included in the 1890 census report (Porter, 1893). Factionalism and dissension are not confined to the Hochna Chilkat; Andrew Governor spoke with sorrow of many projects which had failed, and opportunities which had been lost because of the inability of the Gastineau area Tlingits to agree among themselves.

This chapter has presented both historical background and a description of the community today, to provide what might be referred to as the anatomy of the community. It has told who the participants are, what are their characteristics, and how they are socially and organizationally related to one another. It is now possible to move on to how the community functions during a period of directed change.

CHAPTER V

INTERACTION AND CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

The previous chapters described elements of the model and their characteristics as they were found in Gastineau. Given that data, we can now look at the interactional situation which began when the school administration decided to accept federal funds under the Indian Education Act. It is through the interactional situation that the elements of the model and their characteristics operate to influence the result. The interactional situation is presented through a chronological narrative which describes the action/reaction, communications, perceptions, and strategies involved. The emphasis is on the characteristics of the interaction. Some additional characteristics of the participants as they evolved in the interaction are also described.

During the school year prior to this study the Gastineau School District was advised that they were eligible for roughly $20,000 of federal funds under Part A of the Indian Education Act. At the same time they learned that it would be necessary to have a committee of Indian Parents to advise the school district on the use of the funds. Several local Indian leaders were contacted by the Superintendent and it was decided that the existing Education Committee of the Alaska Native Brotherhood would act as the required Indian Parent Committee. During this same period the Superintendent contacted the Director of the International Center of Education (which will be referred to as ICE)

to ask if the ICE would be willing to do a study, if the Indian Education Act funds were actually forthcoming. These Part A funds were non-competitive and awarded to school districts according to the number of Indian children enrolled.

Districts were required to submit only a brief explanation of how they intended to spend the funds. The Gastineau district submitted a one-page proposal for a needs assessment. Actual commitment of funds was delayed several months beyond the published date and it was not until midsummer that the school district could be sure they would receive the funds. The school district then again contacted the International Center for Education and arranged for me and a Tlingit educator, whom I will refer to as Fred Blue, to visit Gastineau. The school district had indicated an interest in having Mr. Blue, a former staff member of the ICE, do the study as he had been born and reared in Gastineau. However, he was committed to another job at that time. The Superintendent was on his annual summer vacation and arrangements were made through the staff member, Mr. South, who handled federal programs.

Our first official action upon arrival in Gastineau was to meet with Mr. South prior to the evening meeting with the Indian Parent Committee. Mr. South's major emphasis throughout our meeting was on control; that is, if a program were to be within the school, then the school board and superintendent must have complete control of it. A secondary theme was integration; any program or study must involve more than just Indian students. The school administration had presented the proposal for a needs assessment to the old school board, assuring them that the district as a whole would benefit from the study. Mr. South said the school district wanted "suggestions as to what we could do to

enhance the education of the Natives and the others without spelling out differences." He also said that the Superintendent wanted "an assessment with an accent on the positive so the board won't be put off by the report and react against any program we propose." Fred and I made some cautionary remarks regarding use of Indian Education Act funds. We felt, although it would not be possible to do a satisfactory assessment of Indian students' needs in Gastineau without looking at the whole district, it was important that the district understand the focus would be on the Indian students. Although all three of us had verbalized our differences in viewpoint, there was no attempt to resolve these differences.

We proceeded from Mr. South's house to the local Alaska Native Brotherhood hall where the Indian Parent Committee members were assembled. Fred was greeted warmly by various members of the Committee. The members were very pleasant to me and I was glad I had insisted on postponing my meeting with the Committee until Fred could accompany me and thereby endorse my presence. The meeting was attended by five people who were officially members of the Indian Parent Committee, two Alaska Native Brotherhood members who were not on the Committee, Mr. South, Fred, and myself. I taped the proceedings of the very casual and somewhat confused meeting. The confusion was generated for the most part by one older member whose voice can be heard on at least 75 percent of the total tape recorded. His conversation only occasionally dealt directly with the topic at hand. The other Alaska Native Brotherhood committee members sometimes seemed annoyed by his constant talking but they made no effort to control him. Andrew Governor, who I later discovered was the real leader of the group, said very little.

The chairman of the Committee also took little active part in the proceedings. It was not until the subject of potential programs in the school was introduced, and a Tlingit language class and an oral-history type program were suggested by Fred, that the Committee as a whole warmed and began to respond. The loquacious Committee member pointed out that participants in any cultural heritage program would expect to be paid and linked this to traditional individual property rights over songs, dances, and special skills. Several members of the Committee said they were aware of programs in other cities in Southeastern Alaska but didn't know how to go about getting such programs in their own school. Some members of the Committee had talked with the Superintendent, but there had been no contact by Committee members with the school board or with other members of the school staff.

Three times during the meeting Fred and I made clear statements as to our purpose in meeting with the Committee. We emphasized that we had come to explain what we could do so that they could decide, in conjunction with the school, if they wished to have us do a needs assessment. On each occasion Mr. South broke his customary silence to say that the school board had already made the decision. At the close of the meeting several members thanked us warmly for coming to meet with them. One member said, "No one ever asked us before what we wanted."

I found my initial contact with the Committee a much more relaxed experience than I was accustomed to having with committees made up of Interior Alaskan Indians. This may have been the result of my association with Fred since Committee members seemed to see me as associated with him rather than with the school's representative. This

was indicated by their addressing questions to Fred and me as a duo. I was surprised, however, at the Committee's passive acceptance of direction from the school and its reluctance to proceed independently. My expectations had probably been influenced by past association with other Tlingits from the area who behaved quite differently. Mr. South mentioned in passing that a Mr. Reisling had been in Gastineau earlier in the summer in regard to Indian Education Act funds. After our meeting with the Parent Committee, Fred was told by a friend that Mr. Reisling, acting in his capacity as a member of the National Advisory Council on Indian Education, had met with the Alaska Native Brotherhood Committee and suggested they do a study of needs themselves. However, the Committee had rejected the suggestion for reasons unknown to me.

We left Gastineau the following noon with the verbal agreement that I would return in September to begin the study and that Fred Blue would act as a consultant for the study. Later that month, during a stopover at the local airport, Mr. South met with a representative of ICE to work out details of the contract. The contract was written by ICE staff, incorporating the school district's objectives as presented by Mr. South, wording which reflected ICE's understanding of the guidelines for the use of funds under the Indian Education Act, and my perception of the desires of the Indian Parent Committee. (See excerpt of contract on pp. 54-55.)

The contract for the needs assessment was ready for school board approval by October. The previous school board had given their approval to the study. However, five of the six school board seats had changed hands in the October election and the Superintendent felt it wise to seek the formal approval of the new board. Only the chairman

was a holdover from the previous board, although one of the new members had served an earlier term. The meeting went smoothly through several routine matters, with the board deferring to the Superintendent. Mr. South then presented a summary of the funding and objectives of the needs assessment. One member of the board and one member of the audience asked if this was to be just for Indian students or for the whole district. I responded that it was to be a study of Indian student needs in the context of the whole district. The Superintendent told the board that it was the wish of the Parent Committee that the whole district benefit from the funds. Two members of the Indian Parent Committee were present and one spoke briefly to the board, stating that the Committee did not want separate programs for Indian children. The board chairman and the Superintendent made a strong recommendation for the study as satisfying the need for a long-range plan. After a brief recess to read through the contract, the board unanimously voted to accept it.

The next day I met the high school principal. I had looked forward to meeting him as a mutual friend had spoken highly of him. I found him cautious, almost passively resistant to the idea of new programs. He did not feel they had an appropriate staff member to implement an oral-history program. A Tlingit language and/or culture program was also viewed with misgivings because he felt the local Tlingits would be unlikely to cooperate.

The next two of my monthly two-week visits were spent interviewing, observing, and organizing material for questionnaires and other measures. Members of the school staff and of the Parent Committee were cooperative, and interpersonal relationships were pleasant but

superficial. During meetings with the Parent Committee I had the feeling that older members were giving me the same responses they always gave federal and state agency representatives, which were either comments indicating passive agreement or long speeches on past glories or injustices. The younger members said little and no one seemed to focus on the task as I saw it, which was to ascertain student needs and select educational activities to meet those needs. Other older Tlingits, who were not members of the community, often participated in meetings--apparently by right of their traditional status. The older member of the Committee who had dominated the first meeting continued to do so, which made it difficult to direct the committee's attention to what I saw as the business at hand.

In December Mr. South and an older member of the Committee attended a workshop supported by Indian Education Act funds. I also attended the workshop under the auspices of ICE. The workshop was attended by representatives of Indian Parent Committees and school districts receiving Indian Education Act funds from most of the Western states. Several problems were repeatedly brought up by participants in the workshop. One was the difficulty presented by exclusion of non-Indian children from programs funded by the Indian Education Act. This was a matter of concern to Indian parents as well as school officials, and several Indian participants stated flatly that they intended to include non-Indian children who wished to participate, regardless of regulations. Another aspect of the workshop dealt with the content of programs to be funded. The federal official who made the keynote address to workshop participants, himself an Indian, expressed support for moving on from cultural heritage programs to early education

programs as a way to improve the education of Indian children. However, those Indian parents who spoke out at meetings were primarily interested in heritage programs, and the majority of programs funded that year under the Indian Education Act were Indian studies or language programs.

Over the months since my arrival, the Parent Committee had become more involved in their task, expressing interest in other sources of funding and information about programs. Two outside sources of information seemed particularly appropriate: Fred Blue, the Tlingit educator who was now in charge of a major source of federal funds for Indian education in the state; and the Osterhauers, a husband and wife pair of linguists who specialized in the Tlingit language. Mrs. Osterhauer was a member of Andrew Governor's clan, which would enhance the couple's effectiveness with the Committee. They were employed by a federally funded agency in Anchorage which offered material, curriculum, and workshops for teaching the Tlingit language. Fred Blue and the Osterhauers were enthusiastic about meeting with the Committee and arrangements were made for January visits for both.

During his visit Fred made what I felt was an excellent presentation to the Committee on what funds were potentially available and how and when the Committee could go about obtaining them. He spoke very convincingly about the ability of the Committee members themselves to write proposals, gave them a detailed model to work from, and showed them successful proposals which had been written by other parent committees. He also spoke about the responsibilities they had in monitoring programs and emphasized that their role was not just an advisory one. Mr. South attended the meeting but did not speak. I was so

impressed by Fred's presentation, which was completely congruent with my own views, and so pleased that my friend (whom I had arranged to bring to the Committee) had done such a good job, that I failed to notice Mr. South's reactions.

The next morning I made a routine call to Mr. South's office. I was surprised to find that he was angry with me, and with Fred Blue, for "encouraging" the Committee. I was particularly disconcerted because, from my own view, I had been acting with great discretion and restraint in dealing with the Committee. The emotional intensity of the verbal lashing I received seemed to me quite inappropriate since the disagreement was not of a personal nature. Mr. South made it clear that what Fred and I saw as the federally designated responsibilities of the Committee were to him an insolent usurpation of the school's rightful authority. He was particularly incensed by Fred's encouraging the Committee to write their own proposals and supplying them with material to do so.

As Mr. South continued to talk I realized how completely I had ignored his view as a local educator and aspiring administrator, as well as his personal needs and motivations. He had confided in me earlier that although he disliked spending the extra time required to work with the Committee, he hoped his position as liaison to the Committee would lead to a full-time administrative position, working with federal programs. If the Committee were to write their own programs, it would diminish the importance of his liaison role and threaten the upgrading of his position. As he had made clear in his first conversation with Fred and me, it was also important to him that the school maintain control. His view of the School/Committee relationship is

expressed in a letter he wrote to the Committee in December:

> Applications may be made for Part A of Title IV by a local education agency. The local education agency is a "board of education . . . having administrative control and direction of free public education in a school district." Final administrative authority for all educational programs in the district, therefore, resides in the board of education. Participation of the Indian community is assured through consultation and hearings.

It is possible that Mr. South had been pushed out of the Bureau of Indian Affairs by the same push for Indian self-determination which Fred and I were so enthusiastically supporting; if so, it is not hard to understand his anger when his new position was threatened by these same disruptive forces.

The Superintendent himself had no direct contact with either Fred Blue or the Committee. He had been advised of Fred's intended visit and was invited to meet with him while he was in Gastineau. I had assumed he would want to meet with Fred since he had known Fred all his life and was aware that Fred was in charge of several million dollars of federal funds to be distributed to school districts. However, he said he planned on spending his weekend on his hobby and would not be available.

Shortly after my return to the Center from the January site visit, a letter from Mr. South--co-signed by the Superintendent--came to the Center's executive officer. Although politely phrased, I felt the message was unmistakable: Tell your representative to stop encouraging the Parent Committee. The letter stated the district's intention not to seek federal funds until after the needs assessment had been formally submitted in print, which would mean a year's delay in initiating any programs:

> A problem of living with the terms of certain federal programs is that they are discriminatory in nature as, I am sure, you are aware, we are aware, the people served by these programs are aware, and eventually the community as a whole will become aware. Our immediate concern was and is that the School District be enabled to work closely with the local Indian people without arousing negative sentiment from the other segments of the community to the detriment of the total community. The Indian Education Parent Committee has expressed this same desire more than once. A second concern is that in areas where it is necessary for the district to work with the Indian community in education, that we have the benefit of the completed needs assessment, and that we move in concert with the Indian community rather than moving ahead of them or having them move ahead of us. The "Master Plan," as originally conceived, should enable us to do this.
>
> A fortunate aspect of the contract has been the acquainting of the Indian Education Committee with other federal programs which can work to the advantage of the Indian community. However, these would seem to best serve in meeting those needs as contained in the . . . "final report which will include a Master Plan for use of federal funds to expand district capabilities to meet local needs."

The letter also attempted to define the authority structure by pointing out:

> Reimbursement for the services [services listed in the ICE/School District contract] became the responsibility of the School District and it is only incidental that these funds came from the Indian Education Act. . . .

The response from ICE, equally polite, delineated the differences in the perceptions of authority and responsibility:

> Even though ICE is a secondary recipient of federal funds for this program, responsibility for meeting the terms of the act is inherent in our contract with you.
>
> From your comments, it would appear that the school district has the basis for a good working relationship with the Indian community. I certainly agree that the school district would work in concert with the Indian Parent Committee although I am surprised that the "Master Plan" is considered necessary for such a cooperative effort to begin. It was our understanding, as expressed in the November Interim Report, that "there would be on-going feedback to decision makers during the planning process so that ground work could be laid for (potential) programs to be initiated in the 75-76 school year." It has been our feeling that such feedback is necessary in order to meet the law's requirement that "planning was, or will be, directly related to programs. . . ." The specific

programs developed and their actual date of implementation is, of course, the responsibility of the school district working in concert with the Parent Committee.

On the next visit to the site I made a point of meeting with the Superintendent to try to smooth things over and get some feeling for his, as opposed to Mr. South's, attitudes. In response to a conciliatory remark from me regarding difficulties of working with several groups at the same time, he stated firmly that I was hired by the school board and was responsible only to them. This was in marked contrast to the view presented at the December Indian Education Act workshop. Federal representatives at the workshop had emphasized that Indian Parent Committees and Schools shared control on a co-equal basis. He expressed his concern about come-and-go federal programs and their effect upon school district operations. Professional educators such as House (1974), who have extensive experience with federal programs, have found such concerns to be widespread among school administrators. House describes how the "wise local administrator" treats federal funds as windfall money, makes minimum moves to get the money he badly needs and does little more, knowing that this new program will pass and be replaced by another.

Another concern which the Superintendent expressed, also widespread among administrators, was how to find a teacher of Tlingit culture and language who would also have a teaching certificate, and how such a person could be integrated into the staff. He felt sure that the school board would be reluctant to approve a Tlingit program because of the potential for negative reaction from the community. On the basis of these concerns, he did not wish to initiate a program the following year but would consider a program for the year after that. It would be

acceptable to request Part A funds because they could be used to hire teachers' aides, but to submit a proposal to initiate a program based on Part B or Johnson O'Malley funds would not be acceptable. This decision was communicated to me, presumably it was communicated to Mr. South, but it was not communicated to the Committee.

Gathering information for use in the needs assessment had, for the most part, gone smoothly during the first few months. In February a small crisis arose which provided insights into the attitudes of some of the high school staff. The Educational Priorities Questionnaire (Appendix K) had been distributed in January, with instructions to teachers to return them to their respective principal's office. When the completed questionnaires were picked up in February, five of the high school staff had removed the last page of the questionnaire which contained the numbers which would allow the respondents to be identified from the master list. Precautions had been taken to avoid identification of individual respondents by local staff or students, but a master list of names matching numbers was held at the International Center of Education so that results could be checked against data collected in interviews. The removal of the numbers did not actually create a problem in identifying the respondents since responses about age, sex, and years of residence in Gastineau made it easy to tell which questionnaire belonged to whom. Copies of items for potential use in the questionnaire had been distributed, and the questions of anonymity and confidentiality had been covered in detail at a staff meeting in the fall--with no reaction from the staff. However, since the removal indicated a continuing concern about confidentiality, it seemed advisable to bring up the subject again at the February high

school staff meeting. The discussion at the meeting brought out an intense concern on the part of some of the more conservative members of the staff about Indian groups learning of their views. The use of the computer was threatening since the invasion of privacy via computer records by government agencies had recently been featured in national news. Some staff members expressed the fear that some unnamed Indian group might get into my office and steal the master list, which would allow them to identify individual responses on the computer's records.

Mr. South very vocally supported their viewpoint which, since he was the liaison person for the study, made the situation more difficult and more embarrassing. The response of the five teachers was particularly interesting since all of them freely expressed to me opinions more prejudiced against the Indian viewpoint, and less acceptable to a professional educator, in personal interviews than in the questionnaire.

The elementary staff, with the exception of one older teacher about to retire, was cooperative and relaxed about needs assessment activities such as questionnaires, tests, and observations in the classroom. While they were not responsive to my attempts to involve them actively in the planning stage of the assessment, relations with them were positive and the quite legitimate questions they had in regard to some of the measures were presented without hostility. For example, several teachers who were knowledgeable about testing questioned the use of a questionnaire format in gathering data about attitudes. However, they were satisfied by an explanation of the questionnaire's relationship to other measures. More elementary than high school teachers expressed interest in potential Indian heritage programs.

Some elementary teachers had made a practice of inviting senior members of the Indian community into their classrooms to talk to the students about Tlingit history and culture. Several had devoted a great deal of their own time to developing Tlingit heritage materials for use in their own classrooms.

By midyear I had begun to establish rapport with most Parent Committee members; voices over the telephone which had been affectless were now warm, the chairman and his wife spontaneously stopped in to see if I wanted to ride to meetings, and other members dropped by my motel apartment to talk about Committee matters. This did not escape Mr. South's attention and he warned me that I should focus my attention on the school and not spend too much time with Committee members. Fred Blue's and Osterhauer's visits had apparently sensitized him, and through him the Superintendent, to the possible influence outsiders might have on the Committee.

Mr. South, on orders from the Superintendent, had discouraged the inclusion of high school students on the Committee. The regulations read "the committee shall include . . . where the program or project will serve secondary school students, Indian secondary school students" (Public Law 92-318, Rules and Regulations, 1973, 186.16). It was my interpretation of the regulation that since the needs assessment covered secondary students, and programs for both elementary and secondary schools were being discussed, that secondary students should serve on the Committee. However, I felt the Committee itself should initiate any action. It was not until after Mr. Blue, during his visit, pushed for having students on the Committee that its members took action on their own to include students. Unlike a non-Tlingit parent committee,

they made no show of having wide representation on the Committee--they simply nominated their own children which, in Tlingit tradition of maintaining power within your own "house," made sense. The students were enthusiastic members and they were responsible for generating and organizing the request to the high school principal which resulted in the Tlingit language program.

During the short period when the students were accepted as members of the Parent Committee, they exerted a major influence. Their enthusiasm for a high school Tlingit program pleased the older members greatly and served to shift the Committee's interest away from the elementary school. The proposal submitted for Part B funds was the result of the students' arguments to the Committee for programs for older students. Knowledge of potential federal support for heritage and language programs also served to strengthen the Indian high school students' recommendation to their principal of Tlingit as the additional language they would most like to see added to the curriculum. Having accomplished their primary purpose--convincing the Committee of the importance of secondary school programs--the student attendance at meetings dropped off rapidly. After the school year ended, another directive from Mr. South informed the Committee that students could not be members because their language program would not be supported by federal funds.

The Committee's increasing enthusiasm and involvement soon generated another crisis. Motivated by Fred Blue's visit and by enthusiasm of the high school students on the Committee, members had begun talking about program specifics. They were confused about how material could be integrated into the curriculum, and the teacher's aide had suggested

they meet with some of the elementary staff. At the next meeting, which Mr. South did not attend, the idea was again mentioned and I casually expressed agreement. The chairman designated the teacher's aide to check with the principal and invite the teachers, which she did the following morning. The next afternoon when I went to the high school, I was met by an angry Mr. South who proceeded to reprove me for encouraging the Committee to bypass "channels"--e.g., not to make their request through Mr. South and the Superintendent.

The actual meeting between teachers and Committee members, which occurred in my absence, was, according to some Committee members, less effective than it could have been. Two elderly Tlingits, who seemed to see themselves as liaison persons between Tlingits and non-Tlingits, had dominated the meeting. Their monologues were so oppressive, and the content of their talk so inappropriate, that some Committee members finally attempted to shut them up. However, they had appropriated so much of the available time that little business was transacted. In any event, the teachers could not have continued to work actively with the Committee without official sanction from the Superintendent. Although that particular meeting was allowed to occur, following it, participants were informed--as was the elementary principal--that there would be no further communication between teachers and Committee except through the Superintendent or Mr. South.

It was more difficult for the Superintendent to control the inclusion on the Committee of Mrs. Blair, a former teacher, since she was the adoptive parent of a Tlingit child. The federal representatives at an Indian Education workshop, which Mr. South, an older Committee member and I had attended, had made a point of informing participants

that such parents were eligible for membership. I reported this to the Committee, knowing Mrs. Blair (a second-wave urban expatriate) was on good terms with several of the members. Toward the end of the school year she was invited by the Committee to join and accepted with pleasure. However, during the summer Mr. South sent a letter to the Committee members purporting to cite a new directive as a basis for making Mrs. Blair ineligible for membership, although in fact the new regulation did not apply to adoptive parents but only to the inclusion of non-Indian non-parents.

The deadline for submission of a proposal for Part B funds drew nearer and no action had been taken. The Committee had had one meeting during which they had made a good start at writing a proposal based on Fred Blue's material and on an excellent program description written by the Osterhauers during their stay. However, when Mr. South informed them that he would handle writing the proposal, they were willing to turn over this unfamiliar and taxing task to him. The pressure of the Committee's action plus the threat of outsiders knowing of district affairs may have been enough to override the Superintendent's reluctance to initiate a program; in any event, Mr. South was allowed to write proposals for both Part A and Part B funding. In the proposals he specified that he would hold the position of Director of Indian Education if programs were funded. By the time the Superintendent approved the preparation of the proposals, only days remained before the deadline for submission and it would have been difficult for anyone to have prepared a quality proposal in the time remaining. The proposal which the school submitted for Part B funds was for a high school language and culture course. Under Part A they requested funding for teacher aides

and a coordinator of Tlingit materials. The quality of both proposals was poor, but funding of the Part A program was more or less automatic.

Although approval from the school board was necessary before proposals could be submitted, its members were unaware of any controversy over applying for funds. All school board members were very much part of the community and two of them were former teachers, so the board had access to the school at the staff level. However, they were not privy to information from within the Superintendent's office itself. The Superintendent had stated he expected board members to oppose the proposed programs. However, I had talked to most members of the board and it was my impression they assumed programs for Indians would be initiated in the next year. Several of the board members had privately expressed to me their displeasure with the Superintendent and his performance of his job, but they were, nevertheless, reluctant to break with him openly.

Discussions with individual board members brought to light several factors which entered into their reluctance to challenge the Superintendent. One was the insecurity which members felt because they had been elected in a challenge to that element in the community which had controlled the majority of board positions for a number of years, namely, the educationally and fiscally conservative older businessmen in Gastineau with whom the Superintendent had close ties. Another was their knowledge of the Superintendent's intense emotional involvement in the school, which meant that any challenge to the status quo would be seen by him as a personal affront. However, the most important factor was the Superintendent's expressed intention to retire, which would make embarrassing confrontations with the Superintendent and his

allies unnecessary in the long run. Board members were aware that they were not given full information by the Superintendent about the implementation of policies or programs they had approved and they sought information through the informal social networks to which they belonged. The Indians did not belong to the same social networks and so the board members remained ignorant of the lack of progress regarding Indian programs. One board member did seek me out to get information regarding Indian programs but it was too late in the school year for effective remedial action.

The proposals were submitted to the school board for their approval. I was not able to attend the meeting; however, I obtained information from several informants about the meeting. Contrary to the Superintendent's predictions, the school board was enthusiastic about the potential programs and unanimously approved the proposals. According to informants, the only negative aspect of the meeting occurred when the chairman of the Parent Committee stood to speak to the board members about the programs, from notes he had carefully prepared. The Superintendent ignored him, began talking and continued to talk until the chairman sat down, using the same strategy I had observed him use with subordinates who attempted to "speak out of turn" at other board meetings. The size of the room and the seating arrangements were such that there was no doubt that the action was intentional.

During the preparation of the proposal the Committee had expressed the desire to meet with the principals and/or teachers, several times. The teacher's aide was particularly concerned that the Committee meet with staff before proposals were submitted. One meeting with the principals was arranged at the Committee's request. While

nothing new emerged from the meeting, it did seem to reassure the principals, particularly the high school principal, that the Committee members genuinely wished to cooperate with them.

The proposals were submitted and Committee activity lessened as everyone waited to see whether funding would be approved. Some members of the Committee wished to submit a proposal for Johnson O'Malley funding, but the Superintendent was adamantly against it. He felt, with some justification at the time, that the paperwork and bookkeeping problems associated with Johnson O'Malley funds outweighed any positive effects a JOM funded program might produce. The Alaska Native Brotherhood could have submitted for funds and included the cost of a bookkeeper, but interested Committee members did not have the time to organize the effort required to produce a proposal. As is the case in many Indian communities, those Indians most able and willing to be on committees were overwhelmed by demands on their time by federal agencies which required committees of local advisors and by the Alaska Native Brotherhood. About half the members of the Committee were involved in the Salvation Army as well, which also was very time-consuming. Mr. South was also feeling the pressure of the paperwork demands of his position as federal programs coordinator and would have found it difficult to write a Johnson O'Malley proposal if it had been requested of him.

During most of the year of the study, Mr. South's attitude toward me, toward the Indian Parent Committee, and toward programs embodying emergent values, fluctuated between positive to negative. He would express some positive feeling about the cooperativeness of the Parent Committee to me and then, shortly afterward, make some very

hostile comment about the ability of the Indians to meet non-Indian standards of behavior or about legislation for Indian students. If any member of the Parent Committee was late to a meeting, he would make a semi-joking reference to "Indian-time." On their part, Committee members were unfailingly polite to Mr. South. Not until late in the year did any member of the Committee ever question any of South's statements or decisions. As time went by, the resentment Mr. South seemed to feel toward Indians and the special treatment accorded them by the federal government came to the surface more frequently. After the Gastineau study had ended, I met Mr. South on his return from a national meeting on federal education programs for Indians. He showed me a curriculum planning book which had been brought to the meeting by an Indian group, and commented contemptuously, "What do they think they have to offer us? I guess I'm just a redneck but everytime I go to another one of those [Indian Education] workshops, it makes me madder."

As an educator Mr. South was dedicated to the ideal of upward social mobility through education, of helping people to "better themselves." Such programs as Headstart and Indian Heritage were offensive to him because, as he explained it, they placed their emphasis on changing the environment rather than making it possible for minority members to "help themselves" become "more like everybody else."

As an outside observer at Committee meetings I sometimes felt like a spectator at an elaborate game whose rules were unknown to me. It gradually became apparent to me that status relationships were based on relationships within the Tlingit kinship and clan system, but the precise rules which governed them and how these rules interacted with age, and Salvation Army membership, were never really clear to me.

There were two groups within the Committee, roughly based on age, with the one older Committee member who often did most of the talking in an unique relationship to the other older members of the Committee. These were groups, not factions, since all members of the Committee recognized Andrew Governor as the authority, and the chairman as his designated representative. The loquacious one was accorded a certain status because of his position in the Salvation Army and because he nominally had more formal education than other members. However, he "did not belong" in Gastineau, according to other members.

Initially, the loquacious one was put forward by the other older members as an appropriate person to teach Tlingit language courses. However, the Superintendent made it very clear to me that he would not be acceptable as a teacher in a school-sponsored course. I confided in one of the Committee members that I was concerned about this as a possible roadblock in implementing heritage programs. Although the subject was never--to my knowledge--openly discussed, it was resolved at the Committee meeting which the principals attended. The high school principal asked whether it was more important that a Tlingit language teacher have formal training or that he or she speak the local Tlingit dialect. Andrew Governor broke his usual silence to state firmly that only a local dialect speaker would be acceptable--which eliminated the loquacious one who was originally from another area.

As the year progressed some shifts occurred in interaction patterns within the Committee. Initially, older members of the Committee did most of the speaking. Their statements primarily concerned teaching culture as an end in itself and were delivered to the Committee as a whole rather than directed toward any one person present. Any statement

which Mr. South made was accepted without question, and few questions or statements made were task-oriented. As the year progressed the teacher's aide on the Committee began to speak out more often. A quiet young woman, she was more knowledgeable about education and the operation of the school than other members were. Her knowledge of the school made it possible for her to question Mr. South effectively and to provide information to Committee members not otherwise available to them. The changes in interaction were gradual and represented an accommodation to changing roles and relationships within the Committee, not a replacement of one leader by another. The shifts were not accomplished without some strain. The loquacious member on the Committee was the most overt in his objections, particularly as his opportunity to gain employment seemed to be slipping away. The matriarch also evidenced some resentment when it appeared that the teacher's aide would be the Committee's representative at an out-of-town meeting, a role she usually played for the Indian community. However, Andrew Governor and his righthand man, the chairman of the Committee, seemed to support quietly the aide's expanded role. One example of their support occurred during the last meeting of the Committee I attended, when the teacher's aide was not present. The chairman opened the meeting by saying that the purpose of the meeting was to decide who would represent the Committee at an out-of-town meeting, that the teacher's aide had volunteered to go, and would the Committee express its desires. The matriarch commented that there "wasn't much anyone could do if [the aide] had already volunteered." There was a long silence, broken only by a joking comment on his own eligibility by one member; after about ten minutes the chairman said, "Then it's agreed that [the teacher's aide] will be our

representative at the meeting, meeting adjourned." Another sign of the shift in roles was the increasing frequency with which all members of the Committee attempted to silence or control long irrelevant speeches and the marked increase in task-oriented statements.

The Parent Committee had not initially included members from Hochna although a number of Hochna students attended school in Gastineau. At a meeting early in the year I inquired whether Hochna parents were to be included and was told that Hochna people would be too difficult to work with. The whole Committee agreed that this was the case, including two members who had originally lived in Hochna. Andrew Governor also rejected the idea of working with Hochna people. He said that when he went to a meeting in Hochna, they "would not let me speak even though I have a right to be there through my father." However, several months later, two women from Hochna happened to be in the Alaska Native Brotherhood hall when the Education Committee met, and were invited to join. They attended meetings fairly regularly but had little to say.

Toward the end of the year the Hochna Alaska Native Brotherhood and the Gastineau Alaska Native Brotherhood held their first joint meeting and attempts were made to set up a continuing program of cooperation, but for the most part loyalties based on traditional moiety/clan/house relationships continued to influence who interacted with whom. For example, a mixed-blood woman, member of a very acculturated family whose members have lived in Gastineau for two generations, was under pressure to be a member of the council in traditional Hochna because that is where her house affiliation lies. However, as indicated by the joint Alaska Native Brotherhood meetings, there is some movement away

from traditional factionalism toward affiliation based on being Tlingit per se, even among older people.

From the time of their first meeting with Fred Blue and myself, the Committee--with one exception--had supported the need for heritage and language programs as first priority. The older members of the Committee repeatedly spoke of the need to pass on traditional songs, dances, and so forth, before those older Tlingits, who are the repositories for the culture, died. Younger members of the Committee, as were others in the Indian community, were generally supportive of heritage and language programs as a means of enhancing the students' self-image and self-esteem--that is, the preservation of culture as a means rather than an end in itself. The questionnaire which was sent to Indian parents included a list of programs which were in operation in other Southeastern communities and asked that the parents rank these programs in order of their desirability for implementation in Gastineau. The eighteen Indian parents who returned the questionnaires, who were known to me as among the more acculturated members of the local community, expressed a preference for tutors or guidance counselors over heritage programs. This seemed to indicate a greater interest in their children's ability to compete in the dominant culture than in their sense of identity as Tlingits. In the interviews, parents had been unanimously supportive of the idea of language and heritage courses in response to the question, "Would you like to have your child learn more about Tlingit customs and traditions?"

By April I had accumulated sufficient data for the needs assessment and my site visits ended. No word about federal funding of the submitted proposals had been received by the time I left. However, the

high school principal independently decided the Tlingit language course would be offered the following fall, whether or not it was federally funded--a decision which delighted the members of the Indian Parent Committee and me.

The needs assessment report, complete with Master Plan, was submitted to the school district after the school year ended. A summary table of its recommendations is presented in Appendix M. Implementation of a secondary school Tlingit language and heritage program, assignment of a coordinator of Tlingit resources to the elementary school, providing in-service time for the teachers to use in integrating Tlingit materials into their regular curriculum, and a variety of reading programs (including early education) were listed as first priority educational activities to meet the needs of Indian students. The choice of recommended activities and the priorities which were assigned to them were the end result of communications from all the participants, as funneled through me. Pragmatic considerations played a significant role in the assignment of priorities. Some projects which might be regarded by an outside evaluator as major needs were not considered because they were not felt needs of either the school or the Indian community. The secondary school language program already had the support of the principal, the students, and the Committee. Both it and a coordinator for the elementary school were already included in submitted proposals.

The following fall I returned to Gastineau while on other business. The Superintendent asked that I coordinate my schedule with him so he could set up a meeting of the school board to review the needs assessment. Unfortunately, my visit coincided with a regional meeting

of the Alaska Native Brotherhood, which meant that the members on the Parent Committee would have little time to spend with me.

Before meeting with the school board I visited both the high school and the elementary school. According to the high school principal, the Tlingit culture and language program had been initiated in the high school and was being enthusiastically utilized by about fourteen Tlingit students and several non-Indians. The high school course had not received the Part B federal funding and was supported by "extra" funds requested from the school board by the principal. The selection of a teacher for the course had been put in the hands of the Parent Committee and the school abided by their decision. Some conflict between factions in the Indian community had occurred regarding the selection of a teacher. Informants outside the Indian community were aware of the conflict but did not understand exactly what was involved. They did know the conflict was between factions divided on a traditional (clan?) basis rather than between less acculturated and more acculturated members of the community. At the time of my visit, the principal had excused all students in the Tlingit class for the week to attend regional ANB meetings as a learning experience.

In the elementary/middle school a full-time aide had been hired with Part A funds to coordinate Tlingit materials and resource people for those teachers who might care to use them. There was a striking display of photographs of Tlingit ceremonial dancing in the elementary school hall but Indian aides said the new service was not being utilized in the classrooms. They felt they were being excluded from regular operation of the school.

The members of the Parent Committee I contacted talked of

programs and applications for funding to be undertaken in the coming year. They spoke knowledgeably of the merits and drawbacks of several funding sources and assured me that the Committee was actively seeking support. They were critical of the school's handling of programs, in contrast to their previous year's passive acceptance of whatever the school suggested. Fred Blue was also attending the regional Brotherhood meeting and had talked with members of the Committee. He was pleased by the changes in attitude and activity he saw which had occurred since he met with them the previous January.

Several informants, Tlingit and non-Tlingit, reported that older Tlingits had been very pleased by having the high school students attend the Alaska Native Brotherhood meeting. There were indications that some changes were occurring within the ANB, independent of the school program; one comparatively acculturated Tlingit said that this was the first ANB grand camp where they actually "dealt with issues instead of just talking at each other about past glories." The ANB was working on a barbecue facility which they planned to use in entertaining new teachers every fall, which I felt would be a major step toward improving communication with teachers.

The membership of the school board had been changed by the October elections since two of the "liberal" members had not run again and had been replaced by more conservative members of the community. I contacted several of my acquaintances on the staff and found that no one had seen the needs assessment report. The principals said they had read it but since no teacher had asked them for a copy, they had not circulated it. The Superintendent's response was primarily displeasure with the information on parents' attitude toward the school. He felt

the information on attitude was not valid because "only the parents who were mad at the school returned questionnaires"--a comment which would have had validity if the interview responses from parents had not reflected the same attitude.

The meeting with the school board was disappointing. There was a blizzard that evening and only the board, the elementary principal, the Superintendent, and two members of the Committee attended. I reviewed the results and recommendations of the needs assessment report and asked for questions or comments. The Superintendent commented on the positive aspects of the report and said he was responding to the community's interest in career education by appointing a staff member to investigate it--with no funds or released time, however. I asked the elementary principal if he was planning any new programs in response to the community's expressed interest in reading. He replied that not only did he not want any new reading programs, but he was dropping the Right-to-Read program because it was too much trouble. The two members of the Indian Parent Committee briefly expressed their approval of the new Indian studies programs and the meeting adjourned.

Later in the year the Superintendent retired because of ill health and a search committee was formed which included one member of the Indian Parent Committee. One in-state educator who was interviewed is reported to have said, "They (the school board) want someone who'll stay twenty years like the other superintendents have." If his assessment was correct, it suggests that the former Superintendent accurately reflected the desires of at least that portion of the community represented on the school board. The man who was chosen as the new Superintendent was new to the state of Alaska and would have neither the ties

to local power groups nor the control over communication channels which his predecessor possessed. The appointment of a member of the Indian community to the search committee was an indication of change of statuses and interaction patterns, as was the recent appointment of the teacher's aide from the Parent Committee as Director of Indian Education, a position once aspired to by Mr. South.

This chapter has described the events which occurred during the interactional process which began with the school's acceptance of Indian Education Act funds. Each participant in these events had his or her own perceptions and strategies which determined what and how communication was made with other participants. The following chapter analyzes the influence which the communications, perceptions, and strategies had on the actions and reactions which occurred during the interaction.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

A directed culture change model from anthropology has been used for both the organization and the analysis of the data presented in this study. However, that analysis has been supplemented by use of statistical analyses in the interests of an interdisciplinary approach. The statistical analyses form part of a multitrait-multimethod approach which was selected as a method of providing some check on the reliability and validity of the data derived from observations and informant interviews. It seemed desirable to use a more structured approach to the verification of data than might be used by an experienced anthropologist, in view of the field worker's relative lack of experience with participant observation in the field. Following the description of how statistical analyses were used in the verification of data, the main analysis of data by means of the directed change model is presented. It is followed by a discussion of the application of the model to an educational setting, the response to the questions originally posed regarding the nature and extent of change which occurred in Gastineau, and a discussion of how the results of this study relate to federal policy on support of ethnic heritage and other educational programs.

Statistical Analysis

In general, the structured instruments were used in a multiple level design intended to balance out the various sources of method

variance. Questionnaires and rating scales represent the most general level, then structured individual interviews, and finally the individual interviews. Questionnaires and rating scales were administered to the largest samples of respondents. However, in the case of the parent questionnaire, the sample was subject to bias since potentially only certain types of respondents would fill out and return the questionnaire. Questionnaires also suffer from error introduced by the brevity of the items, which may lead to misinterpretation of the question, and from the selective bias introduced by the preselection of relevant variables. However, questionnaires still return the largest amount of data per unit time and expense. Structured individual interviews provided a representative sample which was intermediate in size between questionnaires and informant interviews. The structured interview has the advantage over the questionnaire in that questions can be clarified for respondents (in a predetermined manner) and the respondents' answers usually indicate how well they comprehend. However, structured interviews, too, suffer from the predetermination of relevant variables since the field worker cannot avoid imposing his own frame of reference on the interview schedule to some degree. Informant interviews are based on the smallest sample--and probably the least representative--but these negative aspects are offset by the richness of data obtained from this method and the potential for eliciting variables of significance which may not have occurred to the field worker.

Similar questions were asked on each level in order to compare responses. For example, the questionnaire asked, item 76: "(Are) Gastineau schools as good, or better, than schools in other places?" while the interview schedule asked, "In recent years has your overall

attitude toward Gastineau schools become more favorable or less favorable?" and "Is the school following what the majority of local parents want for their children?"

In particular, statistical techniques such as descriptive statistics, analysis of variance, t tests, and factor analysis were used to organize data in a form which facilitated comparisons with data from observation and interviewing. For example, teacher and parent reports of Indian and non-Indian academic performance were compared with descriptive statistics from the Gates-McGinitie Reading test, and a t test of the significance provided an objective measure of whether differences in test scores were likely to have occurred by chance rather than being a reflection of real differences between the populations involved. The sociometric measures, e.g., the rater/ratee choices made on the secondary Barclay scale, validated the observed and reported (in interviews) social interaction between students, and verified the suspected degree of ethnic separation which, because it was minimal, would have been difficult to verify without entree into the adolescent peer group society. The analysis of variance among mean responses to questionnaire items on potential ethnic heritage programs provided a measure of the degree of response differences among teacher, Indian parent and non-Indian parent groups. The nature of the differences was inferred from the histograms which provided a picture of how responses were distributed, e.g., was the mean response a product of the averaging of strong negative and strong positive responses or did it reflect a generally neutral attitude. The tests of significance of difference were useful since they provided an objective (mathematical) method for determining when a difference was "real" as opposed to random.

Factor analysis is a means for finding a set of dimensions which account for variables under study. As used in this study, it served to group items from the questionnaire on the basis of a common dimension so as to allow comparisons among groups on a more meaningful basis than could have been done from individual items.

The comparison between measures for secondary students associated with acculturation (e.g., vocational choices and responses to the Instrumental Activities Inventory) and the statistical significance of the difference between Native and non-Native males on these measures, were of particular interest because of the initial impression of inconsistency which was later resolved. Without the use of a multimethod approach, the interpretation of findings from observations might have been quite different.

Culture Change Analysis

In the discussion of the application of the directed change model, it was pointed out that such a model can be used at a number of stages or levels of the ongoing process of change. The earlier stages of change in Indian education, such as the result of the legislative activity following the Kennedy report, are not directly involved in the interactional process reported in this dissertation. However, the results of the previous stages do influence this stage of change through, for example, the federal regulations which necessarily accompany the needs assessment. Although this study has been limited to the time covered by the assessment, the underlying commitment to linked change is there. The stages are overlapping, each affecting the next, rather than being strung together in a linear fashion.

Several aspects of previous interactional stages are particularly relevant to this study. One is the active contribution Indians made to the outcomes of previous stages which resulted in a strong commitment to Indian control of funds and programs. The political activists who supported the Indian point of view believed that community cooperation guaranteed more effective outcomes, a belief compatible with support of Indian control through regulations requiring parent committees. As part of a strategy to prevent misuse of funds, regulations were also written which specified that no planning study would be funded unless it was tied to a specific program to be implemented. The impact of that regulation on the stage of change emphasized in this study can be seen in its role as a focus of disagreement between the school and ICE.

A case could be made for several more restricted analyses using the change process model. One analysis could reflect upon the federal idea that the desired change in Indian education would be achieved by introducing more culturally relevant materials in the classrooms and increasing parent control. Another might reflect upon the school district's view that the desired outcome was, in Mr. South's words, "to enhance the education of the Natives and the others without spelling out differences." The school district's participant role might be seen as recipient since the federal government intended that change occur in the school, or as innovator since the school initiated the action which brought about the needs assessment. Since these elements and views interacted through the same idea, the needs assessment, they will be treated as part of a single process in this analysis. For the sake of the discussion, local participants (the school personnel, the Indian

Parent Committee, and the secondary students) will be regarded as recipients and the field researcher will be regarded as innovator because of the facilitator role assumed during the course of the study. In the types of directed change for which the model was originally designed, the innovator is usually the representative of another culture from that of the recipient group. In this case, as a field worker, I entered the interactional situation from outside the local social, economic and organizational structure. I also shared a greater number of values and beliefs with that subcultural group which acted as innovator in previous stages of the change process than I shared with local Indians or educators. For these reasons, the field worker as innovator seems most appropriate.

Idea Communication

Naylor (1974) regards communication as the most important aspect of the change process since the interactional situation is built on what is transmitted between the participants. In Gastineau, one of the more significant aspects of the interaction was the communication of what the participants perceived as appropriate role behaviors. This communication process could be seen in action in the first Indian Parent Committee meeting which Fred Blue and I attended. We were attempting to communicate to the Committee that their role in decision making should be an active one, while Mr. South's comments about the decision having already been made communicated that their role was to be a passive role. These two conflicting prescriptions for Indian Parent Committee role behaviors continued to be communicated throughout the change process. Since the structural arrangements for the Committee's

participation in educational decisions and their roles as Committee members were new and had been externally imposed by the federal government, the various participants were unsure about what constituted appropriate behavior.

In their discussion of role theory as it relates to participation in educational decision making, Stromquist, Penaloza and Johnson (1976) point out that role behavior is usually consistent with the expectations role incumbents hold about their task. However, even if proper task expectations are developed, role behavior is affected by the decision of counter-role imcumbents to reciprocate. The perceived reciprocation of "significant others" who occupy counter-roles can act as a powerful stimulus, or inhibitor, in encouraging participation. In Gastineau, Committee members seeking prescriptions for expected behavior associated with their roles received conflicting messages. The Superintendent or his agent Mr. South, through their responses to Committee actions, communicated a very different prescription for participation than communicated by me and by Fred Blue. Although Committee members were strongly motivated by their felt need to achieve recognition and improved status for Indians, they were uncertain as to which course of action would most likely succeed. The role prescriptions communicated by me and Fred Blue appeared more satisfying to ego needs but members were unsure of their own ability to fulfill those roles. They were also uncertain as to whether such behavior would produce desired action. On the other hand, the prescriptions communicated by the Superintendent and his agent were familiar, and Indians had had success in achieving goals through playing the passive and subordinate role in the past. The clearest example of the response of a

counter-role incumbent (the Superintendent) reciprocating to a Committee member in a manner which indicated what behaviors were congruent with the role of Indian Parent Committee members was the Superintendent's ignoring and overriding the Committee chairman's attempt to speak to the school board. From the federal government's viewpoint, new role behavior (active participation) was an important component of the Idea.

Transmission of information about materials, programs in other areas, funding sources, and procedures associated with the selection and implementation of programs was also an important aspect of idea communication. Initially, communication about such matters was confined to formal situations such as when I met with the Committee, spoke at faculty meetings, and responded to inquiries from board members or onlookers at school board meetings. As personal contacts were established and more information was exchanged with individuals, key people in the existing communication networks were identified. Disseminating information about available meetings and workshops, providing funds and making arrangements for Committee members to attend workshops which included Indian representatives from other communities, served to reinforce the Committee's motivation. These things also helped to establish new communication links which I hoped would maintain interest and involvement over time. Although the contact with the school district specified that I would "make available to the Gastineau school district and the Indian Parent Committee information on programs and materials," the school administrators had apparently presumed that such information would be, for the most part, funneled through them to the Committee. Their reaction, that I was "encouraging" the Committee by making such information and contacts available, seemed to me to indicate that

they were concerned about losing control over such information resources. The number of available channels of communication and how they are controlled is a crucial element in the implementation of change, particularly when one element of the community may be opposed to the change.

The long-term stability of the Gastineau School District organization, and the characteristics of its well-entrenched Superintendent, made for a rigid organization and sharply limited its structural arrangements. It was this stability which allowed the Superintendent to maintain control over communication channels within his organization. The choice of Mr. South as the school's liaison person for the Indian Parent Committee strengthened this control. South, who was new to Gastineau, had replaced a very well-liked and respected teacher and was having difficulty being accepted by other staff members. His isolation made him more likely initially to seek out the field worker as a fellow professional. However, it also made him an ideal choice for a liaison person if the Superintendent desired someone whose communication channels were likely to be restricted to those between himself and the Superintendent.

Almost all the information made available to the Committee, particularly that which came from other communities or resource persons, came by way of communications from me. This suggests that in educational settings which are not otherwise conducive to change, an outside facilitator may play a significant role.

The communication of information to the Parent Committee by Fred Blue and the Osterhauers proved to be particularly effective because they held membership in the local Indian group. Not only were their

visits to the Committee followed by a surge of interest and activity, but the Committee seemed more responsive to my communications, an indication that they served to endorse my role. However, the school ignored both Blue's and the Osterhauers' attempts to communicate, except to react negatively to Blue's interaction with the Committee. Apparently, the consultants were not perceived as a legitimate part of the needs assessment process as defined by the school.

Except for the one attempt by the Committee to meet with some of the elementary teachers, the teaching staff was not involved in communication with the Committee. The Superintendent's direct order to the principal and teachers not to meet with the Committee without his permission effectively closed off communication. By denying the Committee access to the teachers through any official channel, the Superintendent eliminated the possibility that the Committee's programs would have advocates within the system. If the members of the Committee had been non-Indian, this action would not have isolated them so completely since, according to interview results, almost half of the non-Native parents had a personal friend on the teaching staff. Only three Indian interview respondents knew a teacher personally. The teacher's aide on the Parent Committee did have limited access to the school communication network through the young new teacher with whom she worked.

Indians in the United States have had long experience with state, federal, university, and other organizations' representatives who have plans, programs, and occasionally funds which they would like to use in changing their lives. Only a minority of these plans and programs ever materialize, and those that do may have had effects quite unlike those promised. Like the villagers which Niehoff (1966)

describes, Indians too have "developed stereotyped patterns of behavior toward such 'talks.' They normally appear to agree with everything the official says while actually withholding judgement" (p. 16). In general, this was the form which my communications with the Committee took during the first three months. Not until after I had established personal trust relationships with the members of the Committee and been additionally endorsed by the consultants was I able to get satisfactory feedback from the Committee. Although the Committee's interaction patterns with the school and with me changed as younger members assumed the role of go-between, the real authority continued to rest with the traditional leaders and no major decisions were made without some delay to allow for consultation with them.

My own role of field worker was particularly susceptible to shaping by communication from other participants in the change process. Not only was this a role which had not previously existed, but it lacked even those guidelines for appropriate behavior which the Indian Education Act regulations provided for Parent Committee members. On the other hand, the Superintendent, Mr. South, and other school personnel were playing roles which were well established and highly resistant to modification.

Group Perceptions

Participants came to the interactional situation with very different perceptions of many of its aspects: my role, the function of the needs assessment, authority relationships, the needs of the students, appropriate role behaviors, and the attitudes and potential reactions of the non-Native members of the community. Most of these perceptions

were modified in the interaction process, a few were not.

My role was a product of the needs assessment stage of the change process. A position for a representative of the federal level viewpoint had not been created through regulations at a previous stage as had the Parent Committee memberships. In fact, legislators and their advisors had deliberately avoided creating an intermediate level between the federal government and the local level. They did create an Indian Advisory Committee whose members were to make site visits and advise local Indians. However, neither sufficient funds nor sufficient people were supplied to allow for more than token contact with the local level Committee members.

The school personnel's perception of my role primarily involved technical abilities, such as the usual professional skills of the social scientist, designing measures and interview instruments, familiarity with the relevant literature, training and supervising of interviewers, and analysis of data. Although it was understood that I would present information on programs, from their view this was to be done for the most part through the needs assessment report, not on an ongoing basis which involved personal interaction with the Committee members.

The Committee, however, had quite another view of my role. Once I had been personally accepted, they saw me as their representative and wanted me to act for them. They were not particularly interested in my identifying needs as they already knew what they wanted. They were interested in my identifying programs--within the limits defined by their perception of their needs--and following through the entire procedure to obtain programs. Not until after Fred Blue's presentation, in which he showed them what other Native groups had done, were they

willing to take the initiative themselves. However, that initiative was limited by their perception of what would be feasible and acceptable in the local situation. For example, although Fred Blue had strongly pushed the idea that they could write their own proposals, they were reluctant to attempt such an unfamiliar task and promptly withdrew when Mr. South indicated that it would be more appropriate for him to do the writing.

My own perception of my role was initially determined by the values I brought with me. Since I believed that parent participation would be likely to lead to improved outcomes and that it reflected democratic values, I saw my role as involving the encouragement of parent participation. My professional training had emphasized that I should avoid imposing my own values on other subcultural groups. As a result I perceived my role as that of a facilitator.

The different perceptions of my assigned task, in assessing needs, also influenced how I perceived my role. These differing perceptions had been communicated in the very first meeting which Fred Blue and I had with Mr. South. Our views had emphasized the needs of Indian youth against the background of the rest of the school district, while the schools'--in Mr. South's view--was of a needs assessment of the district which would include Indian students' needs as a subordinate portion. The presentation which was made to the school board, when approval for the needs assessment was sought, was worded in a manner designed to include both perceptions of reality so the differences were never really brought out into the open.

The needs assessment fit both the Superintendent's and my idea of an appropriate activity for a school district but there was a

discrepancy between the Superintendent's perception and mine of the function of a needs assessment. I assumed that a request for a needs assessment necessarily implied some dissatisfaction with the status quo, thus a felt need for change clearly existed in the school. As it evolved, the Superintendent was very happy with the status quo and preferred no significant change, although change which he had not planned did occur.

The differing perceptions of authority relationships as they related to my role also affected my behavior. I subscribed to the view expressed in the regulations of the Indian Education Act and promulgated by the sponsors of the Indian Education Act workshops, which was that the school and the Indian Parent Committee have co-equal power and responsibility on all matters concerning activities funded under that Act. The administration, as was emphasized repeatedly in both written and verbal communications from the Superintendent and Mr. South, felt that they had control over all matters associated with education and that others, such as parents, were in an advisory capacity only. My employer, ICE, shared my view of the authority relationships so I was under no direct pressure to modify my views. However, as a practical matter in the actual interactional situation, I did modify my behavior to avoid conflict.

The needs of the Indian students were also perceived differently by the various participants which, naturally, conditioned the type of outcomes they desired. The Indian Parent Committee emphasized the students' need to know their own cultural heritage throughout the needs assessment period. When the test scores indicating that Indian students as a group were significantly below whites in reading were presented to

the Committee, they acknowledged that it was true, expressed some concern in passing, and went back to talking about language and heritage programs. The school was quite oriented toward the academic deficits of Indian students and initially emphasized hiring aides to assist with individualized remedial programs for Indian students. However, they too could not resist the pressure for ethnic programs from the Committee--particularly since almost every other school district in the Southeast had an Indian heritage program. When the Indian students added their voices to the request for heritage programs, it became politically impractical to attempt anything else.

One discrepancy between perceptions of Indian students' needs was never resolved. That involved the view that Indian students needed heritage programs because of their poor self-concept. The Indian parents agreed that students needed improved self-concepts, to be achieved through greater knowledge of their heritage. However, observation and interviews with students gave me no reason to feel that Indian students' self-concept needs were greater than those of their non-Indian peers. The structured measures gave no indication of poor self-concept associated with being Indian. Several studies of other groups of Indian youth by means of structured measures have also found no evidence of poor self-concept (Fuchs & Havighurst, 1972; Clifton, 1975; Trimble, 1974). Yet a content analysis of programs funded by the Indian Education Act in 1973-74 lists improved self-concept as one of the most frequent program objectives. Trimble (1974) says the widespread belief in the Indians' poor self-image may exist because "the average non-Indian . . . assumes that the 'poor Indian' can have nothing but a negative self image" (p. 2). This, however, does not explain why Indian parents

themselves believe their children have poor self-images.

Structured measures also played a role in pointing up discrepancies in perceptions about the potential reaction of the non-Indian portion of the community to Indian heritage programs. As can be seen in the histograms in Table 3, there was no large-scale opposition to such programs. Slightly over half of the non-Native parents and 83% of the teachers felt such programs should be offered in, rather than outside, the schools (item 78, Appendix K). Yet the Superintendent repeatedly spoke of the dangers of reaction from the community if heritage programs were introduced. He also was convinced that the school board would react negatively to such programs although events proved the opposite to be the case.

Part of the school board's positive reaction involved a difference in perception which had occurred and been resolved at a previous stage of change. Federal regulations initially stated that non-Indian children could not participate in programs for Indian children. These regulations were intended to prevent the type of abuses which had occurred in the handling of funds for Indian children in public schools in previous years. The regulations were also compatible with the separatist views of more militant Indians. However, as indicated by the statements of Indian parents in the areawide Indian Education Act workshop as well as by the statements made by Gastineau Indian parents, most Indian parents did not want their children segregated. They also felt that non-Indians, too, needed to learn of the cultures which had existed before contact. The regulations were rewritten during the year of this study to allow non-Indian children to participate if proper safeguards were designed to prevent misuse of funds. The (relative)

lack of discrimination against Indians in their community was a source of pride for Gastineau non-Indians and school board members who feared that separate programs would lead to such conflict. The new regulations provided a compromise that resolved the problem.

Strategy

Just as each of the participants had different perceptions of some aspects of the process, each also had a different strategy for gaining their own objective. My strategy can best be described as a facilitative assistance approach, as described by Naylor (1977, p. 8-6). The facilitative assistance approach emphasizes local decision making and relatively high capital input. By capital input I mean federal funds for programs, consultants, and committee travel--activities which were beyond the limits of local resources. While these activities are expensive, the actual input is primarily non-material, in the form of information. This approach required that I mediate between the local participants, an activity which called for skills other than those usually required of an educational psychologist. The skills needed for the mediating and facilitating role are more akin to the manipulative and persuasive skills of the communicator and the anthropologist's sensitivity to covert cultural factors affecting interaction.

My strategy was limited by the fact that I was not a direct agent of the federal government and therefore could not award or withdraw funds or invoke legal action against the school for non-compliance. I could cite the regulations of the Indian Education Act, which implied that I could call upon the federal government to take action against those who did not comply. Potentially, the Indian Parent Committee had

the same power. However, they (initially) lacked the information I had and they were subject to local pressures, which I was not. My objective was to implement self-perpetuating sociocultural change, which only could be accomplished if the change did not exceed the limits of tolerance of the local participants. If local limits were exceeded, the local participants (school or Committee) could simply refuse the innovation and no change would occur. However, within those constraints I was nominally free to operate as I saw fit as long as I complied with the letter of the contract under which I was employed.

Local authorities had no direct authority over me. The school could seek to control my actions by writing to the Center, as they did, but since my actions were seen as appropriate by my superiors (who shared my values), this was not an effective means of control. However, as Foster (1969) points out, "client peoples have enormous powers over the professionals who work with them . . . They have the power to grant or withhold the evidence of ability which is so important to the professional" (p. 124). Both school and the Parent Committee were clients and success with one was not possible without the other.

Initially, the formal communication of information was an important part of my strategy. However, this did not seem to be sufficiently effective with either school or Committee. Although I was very explicit about my activities in monthly reports, such as activities supporting programs for the following school year, the school ignored such written communications and reacted to my informal interactions. It was easier to move into what Niehoff (1966) refers to as personal communication techniques in the Gastineau setting than it would have been in a foreign setting as I had much in common with the teachers and school board

members. It was slightly more difficult with members of the Committee but my friendship with Fred Blue helped bridge the existing gap.

The first steps toward utilization of the local culture had been made for me when the school approached the Indian leaders and designated the ANB committee as Committee for the Indian Education Act. Deferring to the local Indian authority figures and working through them was a natural part of the strategy. Utilizing the local school culture was probably done on the unconscious level for the most part since the setting was so familiar to me. However, I did consciously try to present a very positive picture of the Indian Parent Committee's activities and plans to those teachers I knew to be the most influential with their principals.

The introduction of the consultants to the Committee was deliberately timed. It seemed necessary for the Committee to work through their relationships with me and with the school's representative before they could utilize the consultant's expertise. It was also important for them to have access to timely information from the consultants before applications for funds for the following year's programs were due. The involvement of the consultants who had ties with local Indians was a particularly important part of the strategy in the motivation and involvement of the Committee members. Foster (1969) says, "target group members often innovate, not because they are convinced of the value of the change agent's ideas, but because they feel that friendship obligations require them to do so" (p. 64). However, the involvement of a field worker/facilitator in a program of limited educational change is not as extensive as that of the applied anthropologist/change agent. When limited duration and extent of involvement preclude the

establishment of mutual obligations, the next best option for the change agent is to involve others who do have a recognized role in the local social organization.

Since I was invited back by the Superintendent, my reaction to his comments on my activities must have been sufficiently flexible to satisfy his needs. The adjustments made in the needs assessment report to reflect local political practicalities also indicate a flexible approach. The concern for continuity and maintenance of change was reflected in the strategy. Travel for Committee members was obtained so as to acquaint them with a broad sample of sources for information and support after the current funding had expired. The spontaneous support which the secondary school Tlingit program received from the principal was a significant factor in the maintenance of change--particularly since he allowed the Indian Parent Committee to maintain control over the program by selecting its teacher. Having made a public stand for the program, the principal was ego-involved in its success. The Indian parents felt they had an ally inside the school system and that their right to have heritage programs in the schools had received the sanction of authority. Although the inclusion of the high school students on the Committee and the meeting of the Committee with the two principals might be considered as part of the strategy which contributed to the high school principal's decision, his personal set of values which he learned from his family could also account for his decision.

The strategy of the Indians was "wait and see." Long experience with outsiders in various change agent roles had made them cautious. They wanted their children to do well in school, and they wanted the recognition that the presence of Tlingit programs in the school would

bring, but they did not want to disturb the equilibrium in inter-ethnic relations which they had achieved in Gastineau. They knew of other glamorous heritage programs in nearby communities, but they also knew that in some communities there had been trouble between whites and Indians about such programs. Before committing themselves, they used me and later the teacher's aide as their representatives to the school. As they became more involved they used the teacher's aide and one other younger, more acculturated member as their official contacts with the community and the school, but the traditional authority structure was maintained. The Committee's established way of functioning also maintained itself during the time I was there. In spite of both Fred Blue's and Mr. South's attempts to impress them with the need to run their meetings according to regulations, the Committee continued to function with no agenda, only occasional minutes, a minimum of democratic procedures, and the decision-making power firmly in the hands of the few.

Although there was clear agreement on the Committee that heritage and language programs were the highest priority needs, the motivation behind their desire for such programs seemed to be quite different. The elders spoke in terms of teaching the students to be "real" Tlingits and in terms of preserving the culture itself. While they were not actually unrealistic enough to think they could turn back the clock, they spoke in terms which implied reconstruction of the past. Younger members on the Committee spoke of the students' learning about their heritage (from the past) and of how it should enhance their self-concept to know of their Tlingit background. The more acculturated members of the Indian community, who were of course not members of the ANB, were interested in heritage courses but not at the expense of support for

academic skills which had a more applied value in the current world.

The timing of the Indian Education Act funds contributed to the Committee's motivation. Most members were familiar with Tlingit programs already in operation in communities where they had clan ties. The competitive spirit which had traditionally characterized Tlingits seemed to operate to increase interest in having such programs in their own schools. Although they were not willing to make the first move in requesting such programs, nor had they attempted to find out how to obtain them, there was a felt need.

The Superintendent's strategy was the same as he had always used in dealing with the Indians in a broker or patron/client relationship. He called the traditional leaders to him, told them of the availability of funds, what he felt would be an appropriate use for those funds, and then turned the matter over to a subordinate. Although he had known most of the people on the Committee for over twenty years, at no time--to my knowledge--did he personally interact with Committee members again. Neither did he encourage his principals to interact with the Committee, even after it became obvious that there would be programs in at least one of the schools. The Committee's lack of knowledge made it easy for him to maintain control of decision making.

Although a superintendent ambitious for advancement might have seen obtaining federal funds as a source of status advantage, the Gastineau Superintendent had no interest in going to a larger school district and felt federal funds and the paperwork accompanying them were a nuisance. He managed the district on a tight budget and felt no need for federal funds, either in terms of economic gain for the district or as a personal reward. His motivation for accepting the funds, as

expressed to me and as conveyed through Mr. South, was to obtain a needs assessment of the district which he could not otherwise afford. He gave no indication of interest in heritage programs or of sharing decision-making powers. His strategy emphasized maintaining boundaries between community and school, with all communication channels carefully controlled. Like any administrator, he had the responsibility for the smooth operation of his organization, and innovation does not make for smooth operation. The Indian Education Act not only offered him nothing beyond the needs assessment, its regulations were designed to diminish his position as broker by transferring some of his power to the Parent Committee. However, when faced with the need to comply with regulations (as a result of my presence) and the need to adjust to the school board's unexpected support for the heritage programs, he proved to be flexible enough to accommodate both.

The students also had a strategy. They responded to the needs of their elders and their parents with enthusiasm for learning the culture and language which were so important to the older Tlingits. This shared interest at least temporarily lessened the generation gap and made the elders feel valued. At the same time, the students worked from within the school system by presenting their need for a Tlingit language course to their principal. Since the Gastineau high school was small, the students knew the personal characteristics and values of their principal, and knew how to use this knowledge. Their motivation for wanting the Tlingit language and heritage course was a product of the resurgence of interest in ethnicity, and of Indian identity in particular, throughout the United States. This reawakening of interest in Indian identity has been strengthened in Alaska by the Claims Settlement

Act which requires that participants in the settlement identify themselves as Alaskan Natives and participate in joint action toward a common cause. The student-age Tlingits were so well assimilated both structurally and culturally into their peer group, that they could afford to reaffirm separate identity without fear of exclusion. The non-Indian students expressed none of the resentment toward the Indian movement expressed by their elders. Therefore, the Indian students could gain the satisfactions associated with participation in a popular national movement without risking loss of approval from their peers.

Although the school board played a role in the outcome of the change process, it was a passive one which involved no active strategy. Stromquist, Penaloza, and Johnson (1976) cite a number of studies which have reported on the limited role played by school boards. One study (Herriot & Hodgkins, 1969) reported that 90% of all board decisions are unanimous or uncritical support for the recommendations of the professional staff. The membership of the new board in Gastineau made it likely that the Superintendent's recommendations would be followed most of the time. The two board members who were former teachers had been thoroughly socialized as educators to accept the recommendations of a professional staff. The other members of the board were new and still very uncertain about what constituted appropriate behavior for a board member. As a result, 42 of the 43 decisions reached in a series of eight board meetings were unanimous and in the direction of the Superintendent's recommendations.

Although board members did not play an active role during most of the study, they had the potential, through their decision-making power, of making decisive contributions to the change process.

According to one board member, the Superintendent did not communicate to the board his reluctance to submit program proposals under the Indian Education Act. Presumably he was so certain that they would hesitate to implement Indian study programs that he did not feel it necessary to provide direction for them. The board's unanimous approval of proposals for Tlingit programs in both elementary and secondary schools came as a surprise to the Superintendent. Once their decision had been made he could not ignore it so he ceased open opposition.

McCarty and Ramsey (1971), in the School Managers, present a model of (a) various structures of community power, (b) various structures of decision making on school boards, and (c) various types of roles played by superintendents, and discuss the interrelation between structures and roles. The relationship between the board and the Superintendent in Gastineau is most like that described by McCarty and Ramsey for the community with an inert power structure, where the board is a sanctioning board which does little but exercise its right to approve or reject proposals from the community or administration and the role of the superintendent is that of decision maker.

Although a few teachers at the elementary level expressed a desire to be involved in the introduction of Indian studies to the school and to work directly with the Committee, the Superintendent's actions made it clear to them that it would not be possible. These teachers had devoted much time and effort to developing Indian heritage materials for their own classrooms but they were constrained from active support of the districtwide programs by their own, and the Superintendent's, perception of the organizational and social structure of the school and what constituted appropriate behavior for individuals

occupying specific roles within the structure.

In most studies of educational change, principals play an active role in the process. In Gastineau the Superintendent tended to pre-empt the usual principals' role and they had little more autonomy than the teachers. The elementary principal did set firm limits on the intrusion into his basic program which he would tolerate, so the program that was initiated in his school remained peripheral. The high school principal had greater organizational flexibility since courses could be added or subtracted without necessarily affecting the overall program. Therefore, he had more freedom to act according to his personal values.

Two other factors played a role in shaping the perceptions and strategies of the various local participants. Perhaps the most important of these is the Native Claims Settlement Act, which has been a major social force in Alaska. At the state level Indians and Eskimos gained political and economic power from the Claims Settlement Act. As individuals most Natives did not experience change in their personal socioeconomic status but they did gain increased political power through contacts with the increased number of Natives in higher level positions. It is my impression that the Natives' access to political power figures has made school officials reluctant to directly confront them. The Superintendent's decision to go ahead with submission of proposals for programs after having initially refused to do so may have been related to his reluctance to challenge the Parent Committee and Fred Blue in view of their access to powerful political figures.

The interaction of the effects of the Native Claims Act and the effects of legislation providing funds for Indian education is a

significant factor amplifying the potential of each to affect alternatives open to Indian students after they leave school. First, the Native Claims Act provides Indians with experience in working with bureaucratic organizations which, according to Stromquist, Penaloza, and Johnson (1976), increases the odds of future active participation. Secondly, the Claims Act provides occupational opportunities on a local and state level which are outside the control of the dominent cultural group.

In the past, Alaskan Natives--even Tlingits--have not been represented at all occupational levels in proportion to their representation in the population. The aggressive Tlingits were more likely than other Natives to utilize education to reach professional levels, such as teaching, law, or medicine, but on the hometown level they were denied access to middle-level jobs such as cashiering in a bank. While the situation in Southeast Alaska has changed since Rogers described the social and economic discrimination against Native Alaskans in 1960, Tlingits continue to be grossly underrepresented in the middle and upper occupational levels in Gastineau and other Southeast towns. While teaching positions were open to those trained in education, for the majority of able Tlingits the only way up was out--out of the home area. This tended to siphon off the more able, to alienate them from local Tlingits, to deprive Tlingit youth of models, and to maintain the local status quo. The whites could point to successful Tlingit professionals as examples of the existence of equal opportunity while maintaining asymmetrical patron/client relationships with Indians on a local level. In the past the Tlingits' own push for assimilation also served to maintain this pattern.

The Claims Settlement Act created jobs at all levels which by their very nature require interaction with other Natives on a local level and provide access to power and success for those who do not choose to take the long road to professional success. The Claims Settlement Act, the Indian Education Act, and the Pan-Indian movement provide roles and identities which allow the acculturated individual to identify himself as Indian without the restrictions imposed by locality or traditional lifestyle.

The pattern of growth of Gastineau was also a factor in shaping the social interaction and communication patterns between school and community. In the early '60s the majority of students were Indian and, like other minority parents, their parents had little interaction with the school. The town was small during that era and school staff interacted directly with the small number of other whites in the community on an informal basis. As a result, the channels of communication which usually develop between the school and a community of that size were not developed.

Action/reaction forms a theme which runs throughout the interactional process. For example, when I felt blocked from completely satisfactory communication with the Committee, I reacted by bringing in consultants; when the school administration saw my interaction with the Committee as undesirable, they acted to let me know and I reacted by modifying my interaction with the Committee; when the Superintendent let the Committee know (through me) that their candidate for teacher of the heritage course would not be acceptable, they reacted by finding a face-saving reason to exclude that candidate because of his dialect; and in turn the school administration reacted to that concession by

giving the Committee a relatively free hand in selecting another teacher. The school administration modified its reaction to the Committee in response to my presence as an unofficial agent of the federal government, a role assumed by me through my dissemination of information about applicable regulations. The needs assessment document itself was a product of my reaction to actions of local participants. Perhaps the best example of action/reaction is from the role behaviors, where action/reaction involved teaching and learning of prescriptions for appropriate role behaviors upon which the actual integration of the organizational innovations rests

Model Application

Having discussed the data in terms of the directed change model, it is now possible to examine the model in relation to this case of educational change. In applying the model to a change situation involving a relatively isolated tribal society brought into contact with a large, complex, technologically sophisticated society, it is possible to clearly distinguish between innovator and recipient. In an educational setting in a hetereogenous modern society, these distinctions become blurred and participants are likely to have multiple allegiances which may cut across social class, cultural, or educational lines. For example, a politically conservative Indian educator, employed as a federal administrator, will not only have multiple allegiances, but many of them will be in direct conflict. Although this may suggest modifications in the presentation of the model for use in an educational setting, it also affirms the importance of knowing the characteristics of participants and how they may affect interaction. The hypothetical

Indian educator may come to the interactional situation as a representative of the Indians, but if his values are those of an educator rather than an Indian, the outcome will be quite different.

Not only is it more difficult to distinguish between innovator and recipients in the change process, but the actual number of different participants whose interaction affects the outcome is likely to be greater in a heterogenous society. However, the characteristics of the model are such that its application presents no particular problems in the more complex situation. The user may wish to have a greater array of examples available within each major category to aid in its application.

My own role, as field worker, has been treated as if it were the innovator role as presented in the model, but there are significant differences between the role as it appears in an educational setting in the United States and the role of change agent in contact with a tribal society. First, although I entered the local interactional situation from outside, I had many characteristics in common with local participants. Second, the role I played was not defined or officially sanctioned by the federal government, where the plan for change had originated. This limited my influence but made the role a more flexible one. My assigned task as presented in the contract was to assist or facilitate action on the part of local participants, to act as a resource person. During the short time the consultants spent in Gastineau, they also filled the same role. Potentially, the function of resource person and facilitator could be performed by a local participant--for example, the federal programs coordinator. In other words, it is a role which, in a modern society, frequently can be filled by

someone from within the recipient group. The contribution which an outsider can make in that role in an educational setting is related to whether a local resource person already exists. In a tribal society it is less likely that such a person will be locally available.

While the model as presented can fit the educational setting, it would be desirable to provide additional discussion of the range of possible applications in order to reorient the user's thinking. For example, the function of innovator could be fulfilled by an individual from any of the participant categories, with his or her effectiveness shaped by the situation as well as by personal and role characteristics. In a school district more open to change than Gastineau, a local resource person could supply factual information and communicate the prescriptions for new role behavior. However, in a situation like Gastineau, where there was little motivation for change on the part of the participants who controlled the information sources, sanctions, and communication channels, it probably requires an outsider to support any change. In another well-known school district in the area, the superintendent himself has been an effective facilitator of change.

A more detailed explanation of application may be required for the educator than for the anthropologist because there are aspects of the model, with important implications for use in the educational setting, which arise from the culture change theory to which this model is linked. The first of these is the recognition that change occurs on the cultural, the social, and the individual level, and that none of these levels can be excluded from a comprehensive picture of the change process. This is in contrast to most educational change literature where critics of studies focus on one level of change such as the

individual level, then recommend that the focus be moved to another level rather than dealing with all three. For example, Baldridge and Deal (1974) criticize the focus on individual characteristics and advise attention to organizational features.

Another contribution of culture change theory evolves from the distinction made between innovation and change. Although individual educators may make the distinction, there is no general recognition of it and the terms are used interchangeably in much of the literature. Our schools have been inundated with innovations in the past fifteen years, but the inability of most innovations to produce change makes them the target of much criticism.

A third culture theory contribution to educational change study is the concept of linked change. Systems theory addresses a similar idea in that it recognized that change in one part of the system produces related changes in other parts. Linked change goes further, to point out that even a single innovation may set off a reaction which results in a series of linked changes. The use of Naylor's directed change model in a series of successive changes emphasizes this aspect of the change process which is rarely addressed in studies of educational change.

In addition to those aspects from culture change theory which are at least implicit in most culture change models, Naylor's model places a strong emphasis on the interactional situation rather than on the characteristics of the participants or setting. The criticisms of studies of educational change cited in Chapter 2 often deplored the emphasis on characteristics at one level or another, or all three, and these may be answered using this model.

With the analytical strengths the directed change model has for educational change, it can be asked whether change--as opposed to innovation--occurred and what the nature of that change is. Using the definition of change of Woods (1975) as occurring when a plurality of the group learns and accepts the new response so that it becomes part of shared patterns of behavior, we can look at the analysis section of this dissertation for evidence of its presence. Looking at the action/reaction process, we can see that the school, in response to actions of the Committee, implemented the heritage programs which the Committee desired and allowed them to assume an important decision-making task, selecting the teacher. That in itself indicates that the school learned a new response and accepted the new prescription for role behavior for Indian Parent Committee members. Further, members of the Parent Committee assumed new roles: one in the selection of the new superintendent, and another in assuming control of the school heritage program by becoming Director of Indian Education. Newspaper reports from Gastineau suggest that the change in the interaction between Indian parents and the school has been integrated into habitual patterns and that programs growing out of further stages of change have received further recognition and acceptance. Thus, the sociocultural changes which occurred, the changes in roles, statuses, and communication, have produced further changes.

This study was intended to provide information to federal decision makers as well as to those whose interests are more oriented toward models and theories. One of the questions asked in the initial phase of the study is whether the provisions of the Indian Education Act did encourage change in this case. Gastineau was not a large school system,

nor an urban one; it had a low level of financial support, undemocratic governance, and a poor past record of innovations. While its chief administrator was experienced, he was neither cosmopolitan nor better educated than his fellow superintendents. He had never moved and had relatively little interaction with his fellow superintendents. Thus, Gastineau was a particularly appropriate site for determining if change was brought about as a result of the provisions of the Act because it lacked most of the organizational characteristics associated with a higher rate of adoption of educational innovation cited earlier (p. 28).

The behavior of Committee members did change, as described, and their statuses changed in relation to the non-Indian community, at least in the educational sphere. School board members were made aware of the interests of the Indian community and publicly endorsed these interests. The Committee established communications with other Indian groups and now knew how to get funds to maintain contact. They were no longer merely passive recipients of decisions from the school, signaling a relative status change between Indians and school. In addition to these changes, two programs had been implemented--a result which demonstrated that the Indians as well as the school could affect outcomes. Therefore, the answer to the question of whether the Act's provisions did encourage change is in the affirmative.

Although the span of the study did not allow for detailed examination of program implementation, the fact remains that the Indian studies were implemented; other programs such as reading, given the highest priority by teachers and all parents, were not. The implementation of the Indian heritage program at the secondary level was more successful than at the elementary level. Some of the factors

responsible for the difference in success are more generalizable than others. Knowledge of the effect of the principals' personal characteristics and family backgrounds offers little to innovators in other situations as they are unlikely to be able to choose the administrators with whom they will work, although that such characteristics do affect the situation is a significant piece of information. The organization of the basic programs of the high school and elementary school as a factor is more generalizable, as most schools have similar organizational characteristics. Elective classes can be added (or subtracted) from a high school curriculum in relative isolation from the balance of the program offered, therefore minimizing the amount of organizational and personal change required. Since participation in elective courses is voluntary, the possibility of negative reaction from the community to the addition of an innovative program is minimized. At the elementary level, children in each classroom share a common program; if an innovation is integrated into the basic program, it becomes ipso facto compulsory for all. Almost any innovation can be counted on to offend some members of the community, and an Indian heritage program in a community where the Indians are a minority is likely to generate controversy if presented to all children. In the elementary school the Indian studies program could have been added as an elective, on the same basis as skiing or music lessons, but these electives were already seen as an excessive demand on class time since participation required children to be absent from a portion of the basic program. Even if the objections based on the demands on class time and the need for voluntary participation could have been met, effective integration of Indian heritage (or other innovations such as career education) into the basic

curriculum would require the motivation for an unusual investment of time and effort on the part of the principal and the staff. As a result, the Indian heritage program in the elementary school was implemented on an "on call" voluntary use basis and it remained marginal to the ongoing program.

How can we account for the fact that the programs of a minority which had no representatives in local power positions were implemented and the majority's demand for reading and career education programs was ignored? Certain conditions were necessary for this change to happen. A school board and/or a superintendent with generally favorable attitudes toward the minority, to the extent they were not obstructionist, had to be present since no programs could be implemented without passing through this decision-making level. Local support from the minority population had to be generated. An organizational system had to be present within a school which could add an innovative program without disrupting the balance of the system, and the community had to have no strong, organized opposition to such innovations. While these conditions may have been necessary for implementation, they were clearly not sufficient since they had all existed for some time without change occurring. Although the Superintendent and school board members may not have represented the values of the Indians themselves, they were genuinely interested in the welfare of the Indians. The support for programs was strong within the Indian community and there was no active organized opposition from the balance of the community. However, it was initiative, pressure, and funds from outside the community which were the precipitating factors in making the implementation possible, although these would not have been sufficient by themselves if adequate

local factors had not been present.

Outside pressures came from both the state and federal level. At the state level Indians and Eskimos had gained considerable political and economic power from the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act and their requests could no longer be ignored with impunity. At the federal level national goals of reducing racism, guaranteeing the rights of minorities and equalizing educational opportunity had been set, and legislation providing some means for implementing these goals and enforcing compliance with them had been passed. While none of these pressures could ensure the cooperation between school districts and local Indian groups, they at least made school administrators hesitate to reject Indian requests outright.

Federal Policy

Not all authorities in the field of educational innovation believe in the use of federal powers to make changes in education on the local level. House, in his Politics of Educational Innovation (1974), derides federal policymakers for their distrust of what state and local school officials might do with federal funds if their use were not regulated from above. Yet the long history of local and state school officials' misuse of federal funds for the education of Indians substantiates the need for federal regulation. House makes a number of excellent suggestions for improving the success rate of federally supported innovation on the local level, but he does not directly address the central problem involved in innovation of programs for ethnic minorities where the latter are a minority of the population in the local school district. The problem in such districts is that while aid to

minorities is in the national interest, history has shown that the local majority and its representatives will not initiate needed changes without federal pressure and federal funds. Additionally, local representatives of the majority may not share in the belief in national goals or in the means to achieve those goals. For example, prior to the 1960s it was generally accepted that the existence of equal means (teachers, buildings, materials) was a sufficient guarantee of equality of educational opportunity. More recently it has been recognized that "deprived" children may need more services to reach the same educational level as their advantaged peers, and true equality of opportunity demands that these services be made available to them. As was illustrated by the school's reaction to the low reading level of Indian students, local educators often have not moved from earlier beliefs about what constitutes equal educational opportunity. The history of the Gastineau School District's actions in regard to Tlingit programs and parents prior to the introduction of Indian Education Act funds, shows that Gastineau, like other small school districts, would not initiate change without external pressure and funds.

House's suggestions for increasing success rates of innovations by increasing intraschool communications among teachers, increasing rewards to teachers for innovation, decreasing the personal costs of innovation and other suggestions in the same direction, would very possibly improve innovation in general. However, his rejection of the pursuit of central goals and neglect of the potential role of minority parents would limit the schools to innovation in the interests of the majority. The quarrel is not with House's recommended shift of responsibility to the local level, but with his almost exclusive emphasis on

placing responsibility with local educators. The shift of responsibility to local parents, represented by parent committees under Johnson O'Malley and the Indian Education Act, will not provide a total solution to all problems but will be effective in initiating programs and monitoring use of funds. A combination of House's recommendations and the involvement of minority parents might best improve the success rate of federally supported innovations serving minorities.

The results of the study in Gastineau have implications for the kinds of programs which might be supported by federal legislation as well as how they might be implemented. The types of programs presently requested by Indian parents are shown in a content summary of 1974 applications for funds under the Indian Education Act (Appendix M). The majority of programs requested could be classified under Indian studies or heritage programs. The primary expressed need of Indian parents nationally, as it was in Gastineau, seems to be for heritage programs. Improved self-image as a personal student need is also seen as a primary need, but most parent groups feel heritage programs are the answer to self-image needs. Remedial programs of various kinds are also requested but this discussion will not deal with them as they are rarely controversial. It is the heritage programs which are more likely to come under attack as fads in federal funding change.

Heritage programs funded by the Indian Education Act serve to reaffirm Indian identity, tribal and Pan-Indian, and reestablish ties between generations. They also serve to affirm the Indians' special status and unique legal relationship to other American citizens. It is this "hidden agenda" of special rights which most offends non-Indians. Lesser (1961), in his discussion of the stubborn persistence of Indian

identity, points out that "the unique legal status of Indians, when it obtrudes and reveals that Indians may have special rights other citizens do not have, is equally as disturbing as non-assimilation . It offends the American sense of fitness and equality, the feeling that there should be no special groups--none at a disadvantage and none that have advantages over others" (p. 139). In the case of the Alaskan Native, it is this same reaffirmation of special status through the Claims Settlement Act which often disturbs the non-Native Alaskan.

The reaffirmation of the Indians' special status not only serves to maintain boundaries, and therefore ethnic identity (Barth, 1969), but it may provide a way out of the previously mentioned 'double-bind' situation in which many Indians have been trapped. The concept of the double-bind (the pathology-generating situation where simultaneous contradictory messages are transmitted regarding expectations and the worth of the individual, and where the individual who is the target of these messages cannot escape) was derived from work with schizophrenics and their families. The prescribed therapy is to make these conflicting messages overt, guiding both the sending and receiving members of the family to recognition of the contradictory nature of these messages and from there to the resolution of the conflict through changed nature of communication. The institutionalization of heritage programs in the schools points up differences which have been denied by the whites.

It is not only in small towns such as Gastineau that whites deny the existence of significant differences between Indians and whites while ignoring the discrimination described by Oberg (1973) and Rogers (1960). Some anthropologists have also claimed "even full-bloods among Indians could be accepted if they took on a white lifestyle" (Lurie,

1971, p. 458). Most Indians know that acceptance is less than complete and discrimination exists regardless of overt communications to the contrary (Thomas, 1972). In localities such as Gastineau, prior to the Claims Settlement Act, the Indians' situation was much like that of the Lapps in Norway, as discussed by Eidham (1969). The Indians' ethnic status was "illegitimate and therefore not acted out in institutional inter-ethnic behavior" (p. 39). Like the Lapps in Norway, there is a conspicuous lack of contrasting cultural traits between Indians and non-Indians in most mixed communities, but ethnic labels are attached to families and individuals and are in daily use. "The consistent, though not public use of such labels indicates that an ethnic identity is a topic of importance in relationships between persons . . ." (p. 40). The Indian Education Act and the Claims Settlement Act serve to legitimatize this Indian identity and force whites to look at the reality of inter-ethnic social and economic interactions.

The maintenance of ethnic identity does not necessarily imply the preservation of traditional forms. The Indian Education Act is itself a vehicle for assimilation--as is the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. In order to obtain the benefits of these pieces of legislation, the Indians and other Alaskan Natives must adopt or integrate non-Indian organizational models and behaviors. For example, behavioral expectations associated with the role of parent committee members are not traditionally Tlingit if regulations are observed, and regulations such as public meetings and general election of committee members must be observed if funding is to be received.

Other information from this study which has implications for the federal support of ethnic programs concerns the values and attitudes

of the secondary students. The contrast between the Indian students' almost unanimous interest in Indian studies programs, their lack of knowledge of their own clan and moiety affiliation, and their lack of interest in traditional activities pictured in the Instrumental Activities Inventory suggest new patterns of assimilation may be emerging. It may indicate that adolescent Tlingits are characterized by patterns of ethnic identity similar to those described by Clark, Kaufman, and Pierce (1976) for third-generation Japanese and Mexican-Americans. Clark, et al., found that one group of third-generation Mexicans and Japanese-Americans show a "remarkable efflorescence of 'ethnic face' coupled with lack of much information about culture of origin and little if any ability to speak . . . the language of their grandparents" (p. 235), while the other third-generation youth were completely "anglicized." By "ethnic face" they mean an active interest in ethnic foods, literature, culture, and activities. This interest in ethnicity is often combined with bicultural social interaction and other "American" values and activities. The patterns of the third-generation subjects in their study were quite different than those of the two preceding generations. This suggests there may be naturally evolving solutions which may allow ethnic groups to reduce cultural assimilation without isolating themselves. While one group of their third-generation subjects sought complete cultural assimilation, the other group was involved in actively strengthening their ethnic identity while socially and economically interacting on an integrated basis.

The upsurge of interest in Indian identity may be only a minor perturbation in the otherwise regular trend towards complete assimilation of American Indian groups into the majority culture. However, it

is possible that it represents a new pattern of response to culture contact which may be more compatible with the ideal of cultural diversity than previous patterns of acculturation have been. American Indians continue to be a distinct group after almost 300 years of contact; perhaps new patterns may aid them in preserving some form of this distinct ethnicity for another three centuries.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation has been concerned with both the theoretical and the applied aspects of the change process as it occurs in educational settings, particularly those settings which include Indian students. In using an analytical model derived from an anthropological theory of culture change, it has directed attention to the interactional aspects of the change process which are seen as determining the results. The model used, Naylor's (1974) model of directed change, has emphasized aspects of the change process which are usually neglected in studies of educational change and, in doing so, responded to many of the criticisms of the studies available in the current literature.

One of the objectives of the study was to see if provisions of the Indian Education Act did bring about change intended by the authors of the Act. The criteria for change in Indian education, as put forth by the authors of the Act, were increased control by Indian parents of their children's education and cultural relevance of curriculum. The creation of an Indian parent committee was the means by which the authors of the Act intended to bring about this change. As a result of this study, it can be stated that there was increased control by Indian parents in Gastineau, as demonstrated by: (1) the submission of proposals for funding of ethnic heritage programs in spite of the reluctance of school administrators, (2) the role which the Committee played

in the selection of a language teacher for the program, (3) the nature of the programs for which proposals were submitted, and (4) the selection of the teacher's aide who was a member of the Committee, as the Director of Indian Education. No judgment as to the cultural relevance of the curriculum will be made as that would take us beyond the stage of the change process which was the subject of this study. However, since the programs requested reflected the felt needs of the Committee as well as other Indian parents, it is assumed that they were culturally relevant.

In addition to the change which involved actual control of educational programs, there were other changes in the nature of the relations between Indian parents and the school. The inclusion of a member of the Indian Parent Committee on the search committee for the new superintendent was one such change. The precedent set by the high school principal's pledge to implement a Tlingit language program, regardless of federal funding, was another. Equally important, in terms of enlisting administrative support for further changes, was the demonstration that there was no significant resistance to such programs from the non-Indian members of the community. The nature of these changes was sociocultural, resulting from interactions between individuals and groups rather than from new introductions in curriculum or staffing. They involved changes in statuses, roles, communication channels, and control of information. Although the degree of initial change was not great, its integration into habitual interaction patterns set the conditions for further changes, as would be predicted based on the concept of linked change.

In spite of the relatively positive interracial relationships

in Gastineau and the presence of well publicized Indian heritage programs in neighboring communities, there was no indication that the changes listed would have occurred without the impetus provided by federal funds and the regulations linked to those funds. The results of this study demonstrate that the creation of a parent committee (organizational innovation), as required by the Act, is an effective way to bring Indians into interaction with the school district, a condition generally considered necessary for change.

However, because of the nature of the Gastineau school district, it is doubtful that the extent of change would have been as great without the presence of an outside resource person or facilitator. In Gastineau the communication of new information and role prescriptions was initially dependent on the field worker as facilitator, a role created by the school administrator bringing in the representative of an outside agency to do a needs assessment. This dependence on an outside facilitator resulted from the unique aspects of the local school district, e.g., its isolation from other information sources, the lack of interest in innovation on the part of its administration, and the long-term stability of its staff which allowed its superintendent to establish an unusual degree of control over communication channels. Provisions for the routine introduction of an outside facilitator are recommended for other school districts like Gastineau, whose characteristics indicate they are poor candidates for change. Provisions must be made for the inclusion of the facilitator in the interactional process as it is there that the result is determined. School districts whose characteristics indicate they are more open to change could probably fulfill the communication function within their own organization.

The introduction of outside agents, so essential in certain circumstances, needs further investigation.

It should be emphasized again that it is the interactional process rather than any one, or all, of the participants and their characteristics which determines the nature of the changes. The evidence for this is in the outcomes of the change process. The roles, statuses programs, and the needs assessment report, which were all part of the outcomes of the change process, were products of interactive rather than additive effects of participant characteristics. Each was a compromise, the effect of action/reaction, communications, perceptions, and strategies in the interactional process.

Additional explanations of the application of the model in educational settings would be helpful to the non-anthropologist. However, the directed change model has proved a useful tool for analysis in this study. It served to organize the data and to focus attention on the interactional aspects of the process. In addition, as a culture change model it served to maintain the holistic approach, to guide analysis at the several levels (individual, social, and cultural), and to draw attention to the potential for linked change.

The analysis also served to point out areas which deserve further investigation. One concerns the self-concept of Indian youth, and how parents' and educators' perceptions of that self-concept affect the selection of projects and programs. The exact nature of these perceptions of self-concept, what they are based on, and how they relate to various measures of self-concept need to be intensively investigated. Another involves the apparent lack of relation between an expressed need for heritage programs on the part of secondary students, and their

knowledge of and participation in traditional activities. Further investigation of the emerging patterns of ethnic identity among contemporary Indian youth, how these patterns differ from those of previous generations, and how they relate to the presence or absence of heritage programs in the schools, is strongly recommended.

Other research directions which emerged from the analysis include: (1) the effects of control of communication channels by school personnel, (2) effects of inclusion of teachers and/or students on the parent committee, (3) effects of organizational differences between elementary and secondary schools, and (4) the nature and effects of reciprocation by counter-role incumbents. Although some of these factors have been investigated in previous studies, all need additional study of their operation in interactional situations in educational settings. The directed change model potentially could provide an overall theoretical framework to organize results of such studies. The model's emphasis on the interactional process (rather than individual characteristics), its multiple level analysis (individual, social, and cultural), and its inherent commitment to the concept of linked change make it particularly promising as an organizational framework for research on educational innovation and change.

In summary, this study of the effects of Indian Education Act funds has established that change did occur in Gastineau, it has described the change process, and has demonstrated the relation of the change to the provisions of the Act. In addition, the use of an anthropological directed change model has provided a novel approach which answers many of the criticisms made of earlier studies of educational change.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

RELEVANT PORTIONS OF THE INDIAN EDUCATION ACT

TITLE IV - INDIAN EDUCATION

Short Title

Sec. 401. This title may be cited as the "Indian Education Act."

PART A--Revision of Impacted Areas Program as it Relates to Indian Children

Amendments to Public Law 874, Eighty-First Congress

Sec. 411. (a) The Act of September 30, 1950 (Public Law 874, Eighty-first Congress), is amended by redesignating title III as title IV, by redesignating sections 301 through 303 and references thereto as sections 401 through 403, respectively, and by adding after title II the following new title:

"TITLE III--FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO LOCAL EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES FOR THE EDUCATION OF INDIAN CHILDREN

"Short Title

"Sec. 301. This title may be cited as the 'Indian Elementary and Secondary School Assistance Act.'

"Sec. 302. (a) In recognition of the special educational needs of Indian students in the United States, Congress hereby declares it to be the policy of the United States to provide financial assistance to local educational agencies to develop and carry out elementary and secondary school programs specially designed to meet these special educational needs.

"(b) The Commissioner shall, in order to effectuate the policy set

APPENDIX A (CONTINUED)

forth in subsection (a), carry out a program of making grants to local educational agencies which are entitled to payments under this title and which have submitted, and had approved, applications therefor, in accordance with the provisions of this title.

"Grants to Local Educational Agencies

"Sec. 303. (a)(1) For the purpose of computing the amount to which a local educational agency is entitled under this title for any fiscal year ending prior to July 1, 1975, the Commissioner shall determine the number of Indian children who were enrolled in the schools of a local educational agency, and for whom such agency provided free public education, during such fiscal year.

"(2)(A) The amount of the grant to which a local educational agency is entitled under this title for any fiscal year shall be an amount equal to (i) the average per pupil expenditure for such agency (as determined under subparagraph (C)) multipled by (ii) the sum of the number of children determined under paragraph (1).

"(B) A local educational agency shall not be entitled to receive a grant under this title for any fiscal year unless the number of children under this subsection, with respect to such agency, is at least ten or constitutes at least 50 per centum of its total enrollment. The requirements of this subparagraph shall not apply to any such agencies serving Indian children in Alaska, California, and Oklahoma or located on, or in proximity to, an Indian reservation.

"(C) For the purposes of this subsection, the average per pupil expenditure for a local educational agency shall be the aggregate cur-

rent expenditures, during the second fiscal year preceding the fiscal year for which the computation is made, of all of the local educational agencies in the state in which such agency is located, plus any direct current expenditures by such State for the operation of such agencies (without regard to the sources of funds from which either of such expenditures are made), divided by the aggregate number of children who were in average daily enrollment for whom such agencies provided free public education during such preceding fiscal year.

"(b) In addition to the sums appropriated for any fiscal year for grants to local educational agencies under this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for any fiscal year an amount not in excess of 5 per centum of the amount appropriated for payments on the basis of entitlements computed under subsection (a) for that fiscal year, for the purposes of enabling the Commissioner to provide financial assistance to schools on or near reservations which are not local educational agencies or have not been local educational agencies for more than three years, in accordance with the appropriate provisions of this title.

"Uses of Federal Funds

"Sec. 304. Grants under this title may be used, in accordance with applications approved under section 304, for--

"(1) planning for and taking other steps leading to the development of programs specifically designed to meet the special educational needs of Indian children, including pilot projects designed to test the effectiveness of plans so developed; and

APPENDIX A (CONTINUED)

"(2) the establishment, maintenance, and operation of programs, including, in accordance with special regulations of the Commissioner, minor remodeling of classroom or other space used for such programs and acquisition of necessary equipment, specially designed to meet the special educational needs of Indian children.

"Applications for Grants; Conditions for Approval

"Sec. 305. (a) A grant under this title, except as provided in section 303(b), may be made only to a local educational agency or agencies, and only upon application to the Commissioner at such time or times, in such manner, and containing or accompanied by such information as the Commissioner deems necessary. Such application shall--

"(1) provide that the activities and services for which assistance under this title is sought will be administered by or under the supervision of the applicant;

"(2) set forth a program for carrying out the purposes of section 304, and provide for such methods of administration as are necessary for the proper and efficient operation of the program;

"(3) in the case of an application for payments for planning, provide that (A) the planning was or will be directly related to programs or projects to be carried out under this title and has resulted, or is reasonably likely to result, in a program or project which will be carried out under this title, and (B) the planning funds are needed because of the innovative nature of the program or project or because the local educational agency lacks the resources necessary to plan adequately for programs and projects

APPENDIX A (CONTINUED)

to be carried out under this title;

"(4) provide that effective procedures, including provisions for appropriate objective measurement of educational achievement will be adopted for evaluating at least annually the effectiveness of the programs and projects in meeting the special educational needs of Indian students;

"(5) set forth policies and procedures which assure that Federal funds made available under this title for any fiscal year will be so used as to supplement and, to the extent practical, increase the level of funds that would, in the absence of such Federal funds, be made available by the applicant for the education of Indian children and in no case supplant such funds;

"(6) provide for such fiscal control and fund accounting procedures as may be necessary to assure proper disbursement of, and accounting for, Federal funds paid to the applicant under this title; and

"(7) provide for making an annual report and such other reports, in such form and containing such information, as the Commissioner may reasonably require to carry out his functions under this title and to determine the extent to which funds provided under this title have been effective in improving the educational opportunities of Indian students in the area served, and for keeping such record and for affording such access thereto as the Commissioner may find necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports.

APPENDIX A (CONTINUED)

"(b) An application by a local educational agency or agencies for a grant under this title may be approved only if it is consistent with the applicable provisions of this title and--

"(1) meets the requirements set forth in subsection (a);

"(2) provides that the program or project for which application is made--

"(A) will utilize the best available talents and resources (including persons from the Indian community) and will substantially increase the educational opportunities of Indian children in the area to be served by the applicant; and

"(B) has been developed--

"(i) in open consultation with parents of Indian children, teachers, and, where applicable, secondary school students, including public hearings at which such persons have had a full opportunity to understand the program for which assistance is being sought and to offer recommendations thereon, and

"(ii) with the participation and approval of a committee composed of, and selected by, parents of children participating in the program for which assistance is sought, teachers, and, where applicable, secondary school students of which at least half the members shall be such parents;

"(C) sets forth such policies and procedures as will insure that the program for which assistance is sought will be operated and evaluated in consultation with, and the involvement of,

parents of the children and representatives of the area to be served, including the committee established for the purposes of clause (2)(B)(ii).

"(c) Amendments of applications shall, except as the Commissioner may otherwise provide by or pursuant to regulations, be subject to approval in the same manner as original applications.

PART B--Special Problems and Projects to Improve Educational Opportunities for Indian Children

Amendment to Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965

Sec. 421. (a) Title VIII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 is amended by adding to the end thereof the following new section:

"Improvement of Educational Opportunities for Indian Children

"Sec. 810. (a) The Commissioner shall carry out a program of making grants for the improvement of educational opportunities for Indian children--

"(1) to support planning, pilot, and demonstration projects, in accordance with subsection (b), which are designed to test and demonstrate the effectiveness of programs for improving educational opportunities for Indian children;

"(2) to assist in the establishment and operation of programs, in accordance with subsection (c), which are designed to stimulate (A) the provision of educational services not available to Indian children in sufficient quantity or quality, and (B) the develop-

APPENDIX A (CONTINUED)

ment and establishment of exemplary educational programs to serve as models for regular school programs in which Indian children are education;

"(3) to assist in the establishment and operation of preservice and inservice training programs, in accordance with subsection (d), for persons serving Indian children as educational personnel; and

"(4) to encourage the dissemination of information and materials relating to, and the evaluation of the effectiveness of, education programs which may offer educational opportunities to Indian children.

In the case of activities of the type described in clause (3) preference shall be given to the training of Indians.

"(b) The Commissioner is authorized to make grants to State and local educational agencies, federally supported elementary and secondary schools for Indian children and to Indian tribes, organizations, and institutions to support planning, pilot, and demonstration projects which are designed to plan for, and test and demonstrate the effectiveness of, programs for improving educational opportunities for Indian children, including--

"(1) innovative programs related to the educational needs of educationally deprived children;

"(2) bilingual and bicultural education programs and projects;

"(3) special health and nutrition services, and other related activities, which meet the special health, social, and psychological

APPENDIX A (CONTINUED)

problems of Indian children; and

"(4) coordinating the operation of other federally assisted programs which may be used to assist in meeting the needs of such children.

"(c) The Commissioner is also authorized to make grants to State and local educational agencies and to tribal and other Indian community organizations to assist and stimulate them in developing and establishing educational services and programs specifically designed to improve educational opportunities for Indian children. Grants may be used--

"(1) to provide educational services not available to such children in sufficient quantity or quality, including--

"(A) remedial and compensatory instruction, school health, physical education, psychological, and other services designed to assist and encourage Indian children to enter, remain in, or reenter elementary or secondary school;

"(B) comprehensive academic and vocational instruction;

"(C) instructional materials (such as library books, textbooks, and other printed or published or audiovisual materials) and equipment;

"(D) comprehensive guidance, counseling, and testing services;

"(E) special education programs for handicapped;

"(F) preschool programs;

"(G) bilingual and bicultural education programs; and

"(H) other services which meet the purposes of this subsection; and

APPENDIX A (CONTINUED)

"(2) for the establishment and operation of exemplary and innovative educational programs and centers, involving new educational approaches, methods, and techniques designed to enrich programs of elementary and secondary education for Indian children.

APPENDIX B

NATIVE PARENT INTERVIEW

Face Sheet

1. Identification _____
2. Sex: M _____ F _____ Age _____
3. Tlingit: Yes _____ No _____ Degree of Indian Blood _____
4. Residence:
5. Relationship to child _____
6. Occupation _____
7. Occupation of spouse _____
8. Clan (where applicable) _____
9. Language spoken at home _____
10. Number of children currently attending school, their ages and grade _____
11. Other persons living in the household; specify their relationship to head of household _____
12. How many years of school (respondent) _____
13. How many years of school (spouse) _____
14. Is there a TV in the house? _____
15. Do your (child) children like school? _____
16. Do they do well in school? _____
17. Has anything ever happened to your child (children) at school, with the Teacher or with other children, which made you unhappy? _____

    Could you tell me about it? _____

APPENDIX B (CONTINUED)

17. (continued) What did you do about it? _____

18. In what ways are the schools particularly good? _____

19. What are the biggest problems with which the schools must deal? _____

20. Are there programs or courses you would like to see added to the school's present program? _____

21. Have you met your child's teacher(s)? _____

22. Has your child's teacher ever visited your home? _____

23. Are any of the teachers personal friends of yours? _____
Of your spouse's? _____

24. Have you ever visited the school outside of Parent-Teacher time? _____ If not, why not? _____

25. In recent years has your overall attitude toward the Gastineau schools become more favorable or less favorable? _____

26. Would you like to have your child learn more about Tlingit customs and traditions? _____

27. Do you think your child would be interested in learning more about Tlingit traditions? _____

28. Did you vote in the last borough school board election? _____

29. Have you ever attended a PTA meeting? _____

30. Do you belong to the PTA? _____

31. What other community or church organizations do you belong to? (such as Elks, Women's Club, etc.) _____

32. (parents of high school student) Do you know what courses are offered and what the requirements are for high school graduation? _____

33. Do you expect your child (children) to finish high school? _____

34. Did you ever drop out of school? _____

35. Have any of your children dropped out of school? _____
At what grade? _____

APPENDIX B (CONTINUED)

36. Do you expect your children to go to college? _____
(If not) why not? _____

37. Has your child (children) attended potlatches? _____

38. Do you use Indian foods in your home (such as seal or seaweed)?
_____ Which foods do you use? _____

39. Are you (or your spouse) a member of ANB/ANS? _____

40. Does your child speak Tlingit (or other Alaskan Native language? __
a. Better than he speaks English? _____
b. Can he speak it as well as he speaks English? _____
c. Speak some Tlingit but not as well as English? _____
d. Understand Tlingit but not speak it? _____
e. Neither speak nor understand Tlingit? _____

41. Can you speak Tlingit (or other Native Alaskan Language)? _____
a. Better than you speak English? _____
b. Can you speak it as well as you speak English? _____
c. Speak some Tlingit but not as well as English? _____
d. Understand Tlingit but not speak it? _____
e. Neither speak nor understand Tlingit? _____

42. Can your spouse speak Tlingit (or other Native Alaskan Language)?
a. Better than he speaks English? _____
b. Can he speak it as well as he speaks English? _____
c. Speak some Tlingit but not as well as English? _____
d. Understand Tlingit but not speak it? _____
e. Neither speak nor understand Tlingit? _____

43. Is the school following what the majority of the local parents want for their children? _____

44. What do you think a good teacher is like? _____

45. What do you feel is the purpose of education; the goal schools should be working toward? _____

APPENDIX C

PARENT INTERVIEW, NON-NATIVE

Face Sheet

1. Identification _____
2. Sex: M _____ F _____ Age _____
3. Residence:
4. Relationship to child _____
5. Occupation _____
6. Occupation of spouse _____
7. Number of children currently attending school, their ages and grade _____
8. Other persons living in the household; specify their relationship to head of household _____
9. How many years of school (respondent) _____
10. How many years of school (spouse) _____
11. Is there a TV in the house? _____
12. Do your (child) children like school? _____
13. Do they do well in school? _____
14. Has anything ever happened to your child (children) in school, with the Teacher or with other children, which made you unhappy? _____

    Could you tell me about it? _____

    What did you do about it? _____
15. In what ways are the schools particularly good? _____
16. What are the biggest problems with which the Gastineau schools must deal? _____
17. Are there programs or courses you would like to see added to the school's present program? _____

APPENDIX C (CONTINUED)

18. Have you met your child's teacher(s)? _____

19. Has your child's teacher ever visited your home? _____

20. Are any of the teachers personal friends of yours? _____
Of your spouse's? _____

21. Have you ever visited the school outside of Parent-Teacher conference time? _____

If not, why not? _____

22. In recent years has your overall attitude toward the schools become more favorable or less favorable? _____

23. Did you vote in the last borough school board election? _____

24. Do you belong to the PTA? _____

25. Have you ever attended a PTA meeting? _____

26. What other community or church organizations do you belong to? (such as Elks, Women's Club, etc.) _____

27. (Parent of high school student) Do you know what courses are offered and what the requirements are for high school graduation?

_____

28. Do you expect your child (children) to finish high school? _____

29. Did you ever drop out of school? _____

30. Have any of your children dropped out of school? _____
At what grade? _____

31. Do you expect your children to go to college? _____
If not, why not? _____

32. Is the school following what the majority of the local parents want for their children? _____

33. What do you think a good teacher is like? _____

34. What do you feel is the purpose of education; the goal schools should be working toward? _____

APPENDIX D

STUDENT INTERVIEW, HIGH SCHOOL

NAME: _____ AGE: _____ GRADE LEVEL: _____

Bus Student? _____

Before I ask you any questions about the school I'd like to find out something about your interests --

Which of the activities in the pictures do you like most? Pick the three you think you would most like to do (Girls--most like your husband or boyfriend to do).

Now pick the three you like least.

MOST	LEAST
1. _____	1. _____
2. _____	2. _____
3. _____	3. _____

Could you tell me why you prefer this _____ over that one _____?

1. What do you intend to do when you get out of school?

2. What about school has been most useful in regard to what you plan to do when you get out of school?

3. How would you spend an extra hour at school if you had it?

4. What kinds of courses would you like to see added to the curriculum?

5. What kinds of activities would you like to see added?

6. What activities have gone on this year? (Basketball, bake sales, French Club dinner).

7. Is there a leading crowd, clique, or group in the school? The soc's. Who belongs to that group?

8. Who is regarded as the best athlete?

9. (Girls) Who is the best dressed?

10. Who is the most popular with the opposite sex?

11. Who is the best student?

12. If you had to choose, who would you most like to be like?

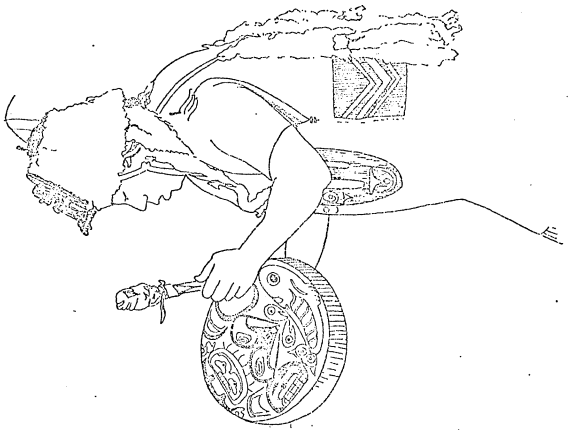
13. CARD - popularity ranks.

14. Do you have suggestions for changes which should be made to bring improvement in; student council, student rights, teaching, tests and finals, attendance, dress code, participation in athletics, discipline.

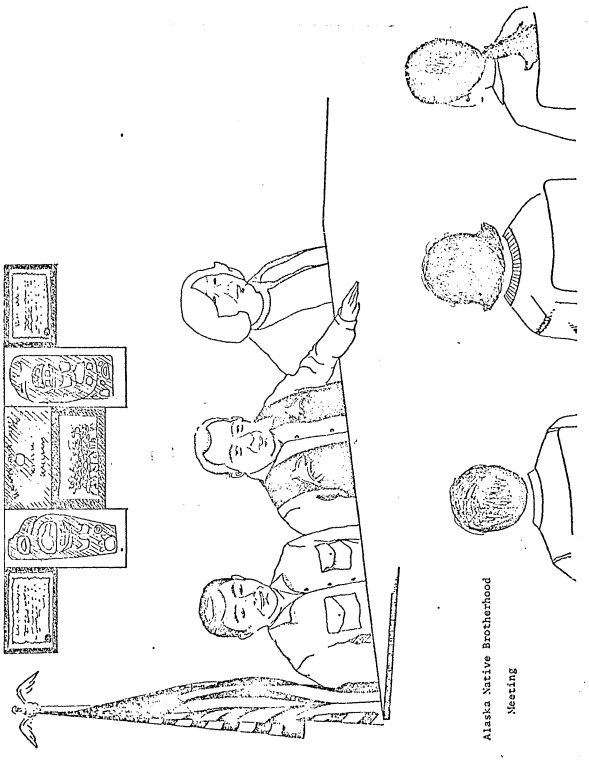
15. Would you feel comfortable going to one of your teachers with a serious problem?

APPENDIX E

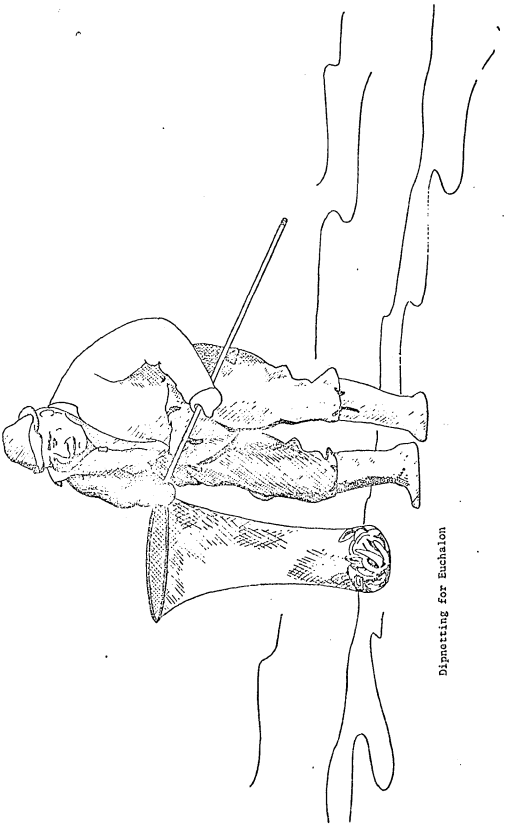
INSTRUMENTAL ACTIVITIES INVENTORY (IAI) PICTURES



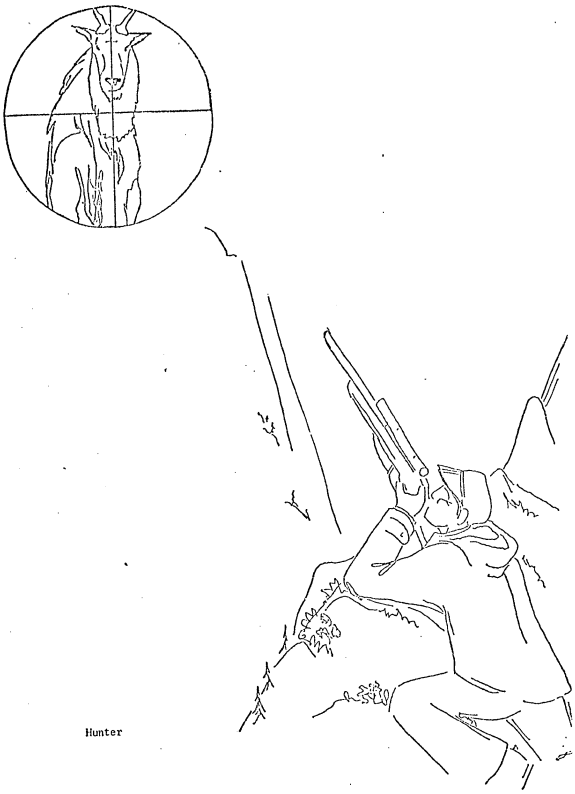
Tlingit Dancer



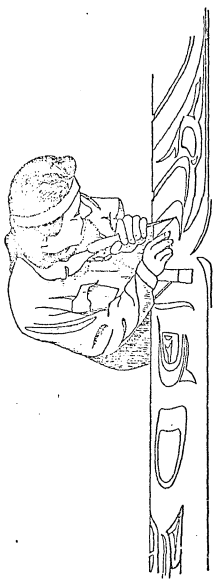
Alaska Native Brotherhood
Meeting



Dipnoting for Euchalon

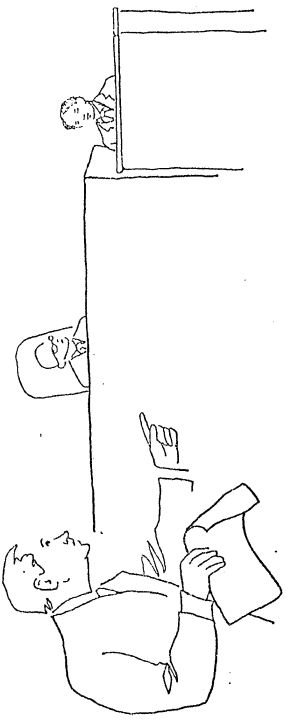


Hunter

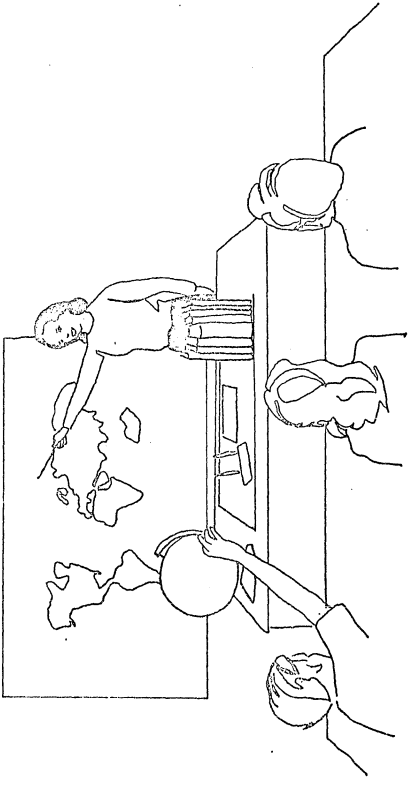


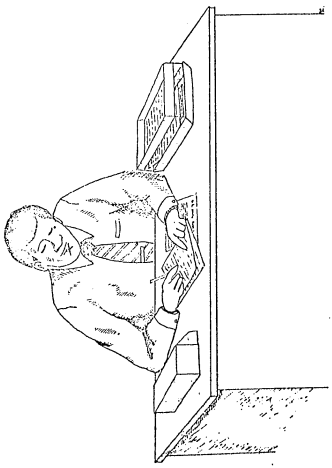
Carver

Fisherman on Gillnetter

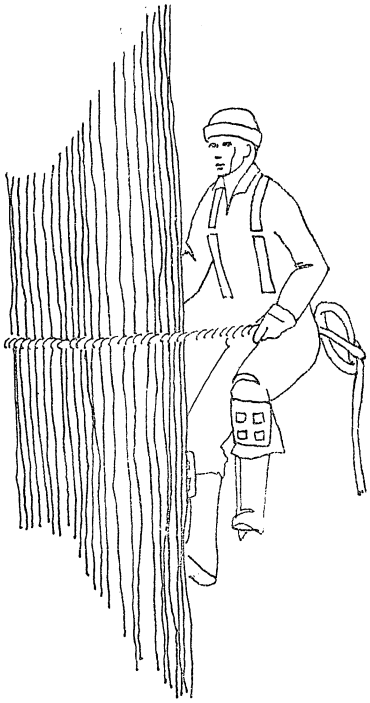


Lawyer

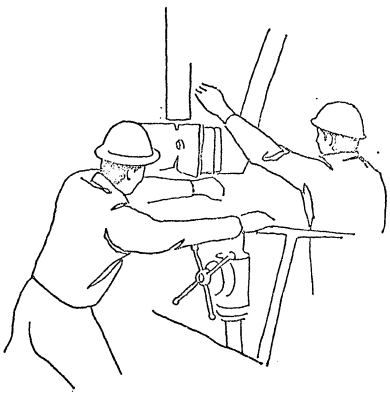




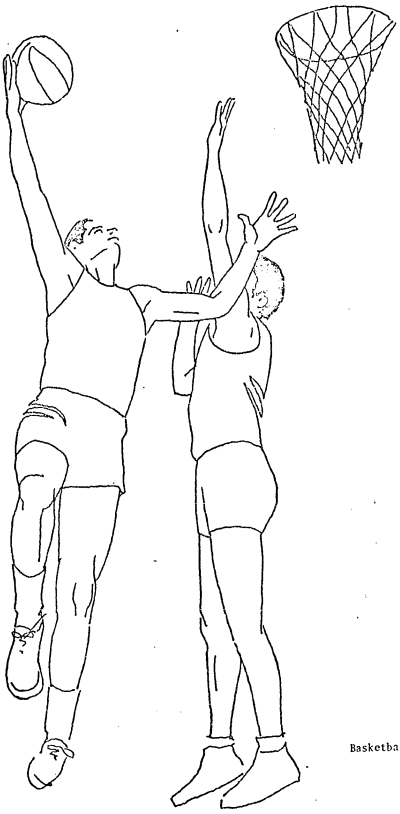
Office Worker



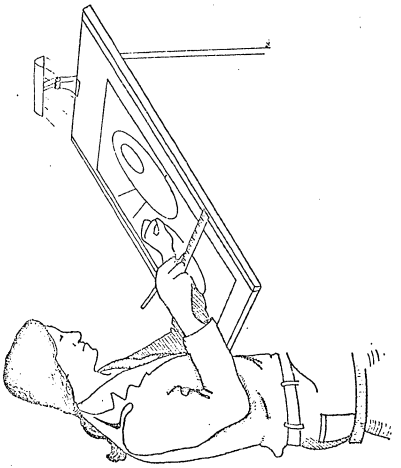
Logger



Construction Workers

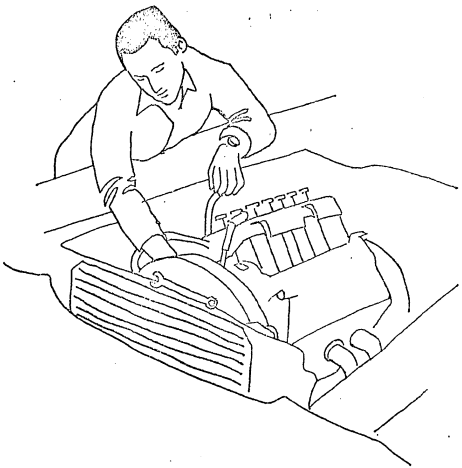


Basketball Players

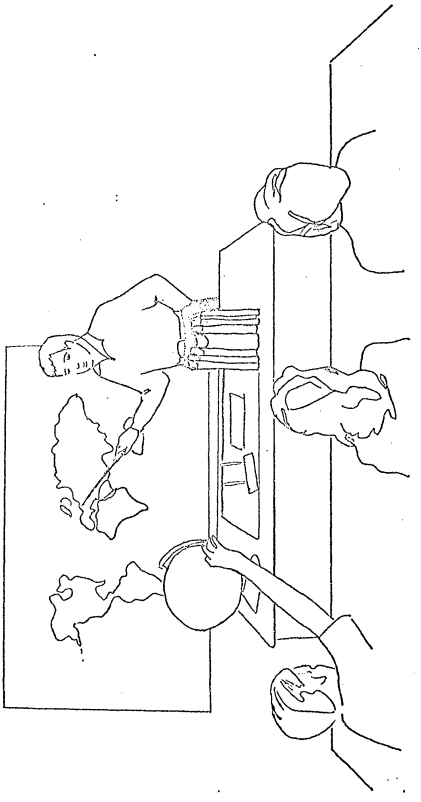


Draftsman

Doctor



Mechanic



Male Teacher

APPENDIX F

TEACHER INTERVIEW

Name of respondent _____

1. Age _____ Sex _____
2. How many years in teaching?
3. How many years in Alaska? Where?
4. How many years in Gastineau?
5. Where did you take undergraduate? _____ graduate? _____
6. When did you receive degree(s)? B.S. _____ M.A.T. _____
7. How do you feel about the quality of your training?
8. What other job experience have you had?
9. Would you like to have more inservice offerings? In what areas?
10. Would you like to have more U of A courses offered? In what areas?
11. Do you think Gastineau schools need to be changed?
12. What changes would you like to see? How would you implement these changes?
13. Do you feel you have sufficient curriculum materials, films?
14. How are your communications with the administration? Principal? Superintendent?
15. Do you as a teacher (principal) feel you have the power (or influence) to implement desired change?
16. Do you belong to NEA?
17. What do you see as the functions of NEA?
18. Do you think teachers should have an official voice in shaping policy and procedures?

19. Do you think NEA should operate as a national pressure group for legislation in education?

20. How do you feel on the question of local control vs. federal intervention in education?

21. Do you feel parents should have a greater voice in educational decisions than they have had in the past?

22. Do you feel that minority group parents should have greater voice in educational decisions? In Alaska? In large cities?

23. How do you feel about affective education programs? Would you like to have a workshop on affective education held here?

24. Do you feel there is a need for more counseling or psychological services? If so, in what form: psychologist, guidance counselor, home-school liaison counselor?

25. What do you feel is the most important factor influencing students' performance in school?

26. Do you have sufficient materials and programs for the fast learner, the slow learner?

27. What are the primary goals of education? What is the school supposed to be doing, and why?

APPENDIX G

RESEARCH TECHNIQUES AND MEASURES USED

Technique	Name of Measure	Respondents	Administration	Sources
Questionnaire	Educational Priorities Questionnaire	Parents Teachers School Admin. School Board Members	Distributed by Mail or by Field Worker	Gottesfield (1973), Interview Data, & Contributions by Parent Committee Members
	High School Questionnaire	Students, Grades 8 through 12	Teachers, under Supervision of Field Worker	Kunkel, Thompson & McElhinney (1973) Coleman (1966)
	Activity Questionnaire	Students, Grades 8 through 12	Teachers, under Supervision of Field Worker	Barker (1962)
Commercial Tests and Measures	Barclay Classroom Climate Inventory	Students, Grades 3 through 7	Teachers, with Supervision of Field Worker	Barclay (1974)
	Barclay Learning Needs Inventory (1974)	Students, Grades 8 through 12	Teachers, with Supervision of Field Worker	Barclay (1974)

APPENDIX G (CONTINUED)

Technique	Name of Measure	Respondents	Administration	Sources
Interviews	Gates-MacGinitie Reading Tests	Students, Grades 1 through 9	Administered by Special Education Teacher	Gates-MacGinitie (1965)
	Structured Interviews	Native Parents Non-Native Parents	Like-Ethnic Local Interviewers	Gallup (1974) Fuchs & Havighurst (1972) Wax (1964) Biglin (1972)
	Structured Interviews	Teachers and Administrators Students, Grades 8 through 12 Indian Parent Committee Members	Field Worker	Coleman (1966) (Teachers) Coleman (1961) (Students)
	Key Informant Interviews	Significant Figures in Various Roles in the Community	Field Worker	N/A
	Instrumental Activities Inventory (IAI)	Students, Grades 8 through 12	Field Worker	Spindler (1965)

APPENDIX G (CONTINUED)

Technique	Name of Measure	Respondents	Administration	Sources
Observation	Limited Participant (without Group Membership	Observations in Interactive Situations with Parent Committee, School Board & School Staff	Field Worker	N/A
	Non-participant (without Group Membership)	Observations in Classrooms, in School & Community	Field Worker	N/A
Documents	Local Newspaper U.S. Census (1970) (1890) Intra-school Announcements State Agency Reports Local Chamber of Commerce Publications High School Accreditation Report High School Newspaper Community Organizations' Announcements Minutes of School Board Meetings Relevant Anthropological and Historical Texts School Records			

APPENDIX H

RESPONSES TO HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

1.	In general, how well do you like your school?	
	a. I like it very much.	13.2%
	b. I like it.	33.8%
	c. Neither like nor dislike.	35.1%
	d. Many days I would like to stay away.	13.2%
	e. If I could, I would quit school.	4.6%
2.	If something happened and you had to stop school now, how would you feel?	
	a. Very happy--I'd like to quit.	5.4%
	b. I wouldn't care one way or another	16.1%
	c. I would be disappointed.	20.1%
	d. I would try hard to continue.	43.0%
	e. I would do almost anything to stay in school.	15.4%
3.	During the past school year, did you ever stay away from school just because you didn't want to come?	
	a. No.	53.5%
	b. Yes, for 1 or 2 days.	30.0%
	c. Yes, for 3 to 6 days.	9.3%
	d. Yes, for 7 to 15 days.	4.0%
	e. Yes, for 16 days or over.	3.3%
4.	During the last two or three years, it seems to me that:	
	a. School is much more directly related to life outside of school.	39.6%
	b. School has little relationship to life outside of school.	36.2%
	c. Much of what I hear in school is contradictory to what I see and hear outside of school.	24.2%
5.	If I were to list the five or six most important questions I have about my life, and then examined what I am learning in school, I would find that the school is providing me with help in examining possible answers to:	
	a. Most of the important questions in my life.	12.1%
	b. About half of my important questions.	21.5%
	c. One or two of my important questions.	20.8%
	d. School experiences seem to miss my important questions.	12.8%
	e. I am not able to judge.	32.9%

a. As reported in Kunkel et al.,[2] ERIC ED 074092

APPENDIX H (CONTINUED)

6. If I were to list the five or six most important problems that this community faces and then looked at what I am learning in school, I would find that school is helping me to examine possible approaches to:
   a. Most of the important problems in this community. 10.0%
   b. About half of the community's important problems. 17.3%
   c. One or two of the community's important problems. 20.7%
   d. School experiences seem to miss the community's important problems. 20.7%
   e. I am not able to judge. 31.3%

7. If I were to list the five or six most important problems that the United States faces and then looked at what I am learning in school, I would find that the school is helping me to examine possible approaches to:
   a. Most of the important problems of the United States. 10.8%
   b. About half of the United States' important problems. 18.2%
   c. One or two of the United States' important problems. 29.7%
   d. School experiences seem to miss the United States' important problems. 12.2%
   e. I am not able to judge. 29.1%

8. If you were to judge the degree to which you are using your ability in school what rating would you give?
   a. Above my ability. 2.8%
   b. Equal to my ability. 49.7%
   c. Below my ability. 47.6%

9. How much time do you usually spend on school work outside of school each day?
   a. None at all. 18.8%
   b. On the average, less than one-half hour. 34.2%
   c. About one hour. 28.9%
   d. Between one and two hours. 15.4%
   e. More than two hours. 2.7%

10. Do you have your school work finished on time?
   a. Always 12.8%
   b. Usually 54.1%
   c. Sometimes 30.4%
   d. Seldom 2.0%
   e. Never .7%

APPENDIX H (CONTINUED)

11.	Concerning the value of the things I do as school work:	
	a. I think almost all of the school-work I do is valuable.	17.6%
	b. I think about 3/4 of the school-work I do is valuable.	35.1%
	c. I think about 1/2 of the school-work I do is valuable.	34.5%
	d. I think about 1/4 of the school-work I do is valuable.	8.1%
	e. I think almost none of the school-work I do is valuable.	4.7%
12.	The thing which I do in school that I am most proud of is:	
	a. Being neat and prompt in my work.	9.4%
	b. Helping the teacher in the classroom.	6.5%
	c. Getting good grades on my report card.	44.6%
	d. Being well liked by all the students.	28.1%
	e. Nothing that I do in school makes me proud.	11.5%
13.	In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way you are treated by teachers and other school officials?	
	a. Very well satisfied	8.8%
	b. Satisfied	36.1%
	c. Half and half - neither	42.9%
	d. Dissatisfied	9.5%
	e. Very much dissatisfied	2.7%
14.	How well do you think you get along with your teachers?	
	a. I almost always please my teachers.	6.2%
	b. I usually succeed in pleasing them.	49.0%
	c. I sometimes have trouble pleasing teachers.	30.3%
	d. I never seem to be able to please teachers.	4.8%
	e. I am not interested in pleasing teachers.	9.7%
15.	In my classes the last two or three years, I find that:	
	a. Teachers allow pupils to participate extensively in planning what to do.	12.3%
	b. Teachers occasionally ask pupils for their opinion when planning what to do.	51.4%
	c. Teachers do most of the planning and tell pupils what to do.	36.3%

APPENDIX H (CONTINUED)

16. How often do teachers compliment you concerning some phase of your school work?
    a. Almost every day. 6.8%
    b. About once a week. 40.5%
    c. About once a semester. 28.4%
    d. I don't remember that a teacher has complimented me for school work. 6.8%
    e. Teachers give grades rather than compliments. 17.6%

17. The last time the high school principal spoke to me was to:
    a. Compliment me for an achievement. 7.3%
    b. Remind me of a school regulation. 16.0%
    c. To inquire about how I was getting along in school. 5.3%
    d. None of these. 54.7%
    e. The school principal has never spoken directly to me. 16.7%

18. As this school enforces regulations so that learning and instruction can occur, I think the enforcement is:
    a. About right 59.6%
    b. Too weak 16.4%
    c. Much too weak 7.5%
    d. Too strict 14.4%
    e. Much too strict 2.1%

19. People who accept their condition in life are happier than those who try to change things.
    a. Agree 32.9%
    b. Not sure 38.9%
    c. Disagree 28.2%

20. Good luck is more important than hard work for success:
    a. Agree 6.1%
    b. Not sure 21.8%
    c. Disagree 72.1%

21. Every time I try to get ahead, something of somebody stops me.
    a. Agree 20.9%
    b. Nor sure 37.2%
    c. Disagree 41.9%

22. If a person is not successful in life, it is his own fault.
    a. Agree 23.5%
    b. Not sure 45.6%
    c. Disagree 30.9%

APPENDIX H (CONTINUED)

23.	Even with a good education, I'll have a hard time getting the right kind of job.	
	a. Agree	22.8%
	b. Not sure	47.7%
	c. Disagree	29.5%
24.	I would make any sacrifice to get ahead in the world.	
	a. Agree	9.4%
	b. Not sure	43.0%
	c. Disagree	47.7%
25.	If I could change, I would be someone different from myself.	
	a. Agree	16.1%
	b. Not sure	32.9%
	c. Disagree	51.0%
26.	I sometimes feel that I just can't learn.	
	a. Agree	34.2%
	b. Not sure	22.8%
	c. Disagree	43.0%
27.	I would do better in school work if teachers didn't go so fast.	
	a. Agree	25.7%
	b. Not sure	36.1%
	c. Disagree	38.2%
28.	People like me don't have much of a chance to be successful in life.	
	a. Agree	5.5%
	b. Not sure	24.7%
	c. Disagree	69.9%
29.	The tougher the job, the harder I work.	
	a. Agree	51.4%
	b. Not sure	41.0%
	c. Disagree	7.6%
30.	I am able to do many things well.	
	a. Agree	53.4%
	b. Not sure	34.9%
	c. Disagree	11.6%
31.	How often do you and your parents talk about your school work?	
	a. Just about every day	21.8%
	b. Once or twice a week	28.2%
	c. One or twice a month	21.8%
	d. Never, or hardly ever	28.2%

APPENDIX H (CONTINUED)

32. Concerning the value my parents place on what I learn in school:
    a. My parents think almost all that I learn in school is valuable. 45.5%
    b. My parents think about 3/4 of what I learn in school is valuable. 18.6%
    c. My parents think 1/2 of what I learn in school is valuable. 12.4%
    d. My parents think 1/4 of what I learn in school is valuable. 4.8%
    e. My parents think almost none of what I learn in school is valuable. 0.0%
    f. I don't know what my parents think about the value of my school work. 18.6%

33. Check the statement which comes closest to stating the relationship with your parents and doing well in school.
    a. My parents are interested in how well I do in school, but I don't feel that they are putting pressure on me. 43.4%
    b. My parents are concerned about how well I do in school and sometimes feel pressure to do well. 40.7%
    c. My parents often pressure me to do well in school. 5.5%
    d. My parents are constantly pressuring me to do well in school. 6.2%
    e. My parents don't seem to be much concerned about how I do in school. 4.1%

34. Check the statement that comes closest to your parent's judgment about the amount of time you spend on school work.
    a. I don't know how my parents feel about the amount of time I spend on school work. 44.8%
    b. My parents think that I spend about the right amount of time on school work. 25.6%
    c. My parents think I spend too much time on school work. .7%
    d. My parents think I spend too little time on school work. 29.0%

35. In general, how well do you do in school?
    a. I see myself as a successful student. 14.0%
    b. I have the ability to learn most things. 74.1%
    c. I am not very good at school work. 11.9%

APPENDIX H (CONTINUED)

36. In general, how do you feel about other students in this school?
    a. Most students in this school are friendly. 47.7%
    b. I have some good friends here in school. 32.0%
    c. Students here are not willing to help me. 2.6%
    d. A lot of students here are stuck up. 17.6%

37. Check the statement (or statements) which come closest to describing your opinion of the teachers at this school.
    a. The lectures and class discussions by my teacher are clear and worthwhile. 25.3%
    b. The teachers in this school encourage students to think for themselves. 40.0%
    c. The teachers in this school are genuinely interested in the students. 25.3%
    d. The teachers here are fair and not inclined to play favorites. 14.7%
    e. The teachers here are fully qualified to teach their subject. 18.7%
    f. The teachers here treat the students with respect. 21.0%

    (Percentages on this item sum to more than 100% as respondents could check more than one item.)

38. When you finish your education, what sort of job do you think you will have?
    a. Technical - such as draftsman, surveyor, medical or dental technician, etc.
    b. Official - such as manufacturer, officer in a large company, banker, governmental official or inspector, etc.
    c. Manager - such as sales manager, store manager, office manager, factory supervisor, etc.
    d. Semiskilled worker - such as factory machine operator, bus or cab driver, meat cutter, etc.
    e. Salesman - such as real estate or insurance salesman, factory representative, etc.
    f. Farm or ranch manager or owner.
    g. Farm worker on one or more than one farm.
    h. Workman or laborer - such as factory or mine worker, fisherman, filling station attendant, longshoreman, etc.
    i. Professional - such as accountant, artist, clergyman, dentist, doctor, engineer, lawyer, librarian, scientist, college professor, social worker, etc.
    j. Skilled worker or foreman - such as baker, carpenter, electrician, enlisted man in the armed forces, mechanic, plumber, plasterer, tailor, foreman in a factory or mine, etc.
    k. Don't know.
    l. Other - _____

APPENDIX I

BARKER ACTIVITY QUESTIONNAIRE

Name _____ Sex: Male Female
(circle one)

Grade Level _____ Indian? _____ Non-Indian _____

Do you take the school bus to and from school? _____

INTRODUCTION

I'm sure you are all aware by now that a study, or needs assessment of the Gastineau school is going on. In order to find out about the schools we need to ask the people who are in the school now, students and teachers. This questionnaire (which will be the last one) asks about the activities you may be involved in and how you were involved. The school activities listed are the activities of this semester but the extracurricular or work activities may have occurred anytime this year.

Look at the example below to see how you should fill out the questionnaire.

	Example		Performance
German Club Candy Sale	yes	no	_____
Gastineau Baseball Game	yes	no	_____
Junior Class Meeting	yes	no	_____

Let's say a boy named Joe is taking this questionnaire. Joe looks at the first item, German Club Candy Sale, and circles yes because he bought some candy at the sale. In the column labeled "Performance" he writes customer because that's the part he played in that activity. Next Joe looks at the second item, Gastineau Baseball Game, and circles no because he didn't go to the game as a spectator (performance), or play in the game as a player (performance) or even sell hot dogs at the game which would also be a performance. The third item is Junior Class Meeting and Joe circles yes because he went to a junior class meeting this semester, and writes member in the performance column. Some other junior at the meeting might have written class officer, speaker, or school newspaper reporter in the performance column.

APPENDIX I (CONTINUED)

If the activity listed is one that happens more than once a semester answer yes if you have participated in that activity at least once this semester. Be sure and describe how you participated in the activity whether it was "sold tickets" or "just watched". You don't have to decide whether you were a performer or not - just give us the information so we can decide.

We tried hard to list all the activities but some are probably left out. Notice that there is a space for you to add the activities that have been overlooked.

As in the last questionnaire your comments are most welcome.

Thanks for your cooperation.

APPENDIX I (CONTINUED)

ACTIVITIES			PERFORMANCE INFORMATION
Senior Dance	Yes	No	
Senior Party	Yes	No	
Winter Band Concert	Yes	No	
Junior Dance	Yes	No	
Wrestling	Yes	No	
Junior Class Bake Sale	Yes	No	
French Dinner	Yes	No	
8th Grade Dance	Yes	No	
B Tournament (Basketball)	Yes	No	
Cheerleaders Luncheon	Yes	No	
Victory Sock Hop (B Tournament)	Yes	No	
Sophomore Dance	Yes	No	
Freshman Dance	Yes	No	
Sophomore Fun Night	Yes	No	
Spring Band Concert	Yes	No	
Basketball Games	Yes	No	
School Newspaper	Yes	No	
Year Book	Yes	No	
Class Meetings	Yes	No	
Student Council	Yes	No	
OEA - Office Education Assoc.	Yes	No	
School Store	Yes	No	
Pep Band	Yes	No	

APPENDIX I (CONTINUED)

Art Show	Yes	No	_____
Chorus	Yes	No	_____
Lettermans Club	Yes	No	_____
G.A.A.	Yes	No	_____

We might have overlooked some school activities. If you took part in some school occasions not on this list, would you write them in?

ACTIVITY	PERFORMANCE INFORMATION
_____	_____
_____	_____

(Use back of this sheet for additional school activities)

Students sometimes take part in groups and organizations outside of school. Let's take church as one possibility. Students could attend Sunday School, Church, Mass, Synagogue, or Young People's Group Meeting, etc. They might be performers in some of these: sing in church choir, teach Sunday School, lead Young People's Worship Service, etc. If you took part in any church related activities this semester, would you write them in below? If you performed in any, please write in the performance.

CHURCH ACTIVITY	PERFORMANCE INFORMATION
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

(Use the back of this sheet for additional church activities)

Students might also take part in other organizations throughout the year. Examples would be Scout meetings, ANB or ANS, Bowling Team

APPENDIX I (CONTINUED)

contests, 4-H meetings, music group meetings, Lynn Canal Community Players, S.E. Alaska Fair, Radio Class, etc. Students might be performers in some of these: serve as assistant scoutmaster, handle refreshments at club party, play a role in a play, etc. Would you write in any of these affairs you have attended and put in any performances?

ORGANIZATION ACTIVITIES	PERFORMANCE INFORMATION
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

(Use back of this page for any additions)

WORK

Have you worked for pay this semester? (circle which) No Yes

What kind of work did you do? _____

If you worked for a company or organization, please name it:

_____

Did you work for pay last summer? No Yes

What kind of work did you do? _____

If you worked for a company or organization, please name it:

_____

Would you fill in your present schedule?

	Subject	Teacher
1st Period	_____	_____
2nd Period	_____	_____
3rd Period	_____	_____

APPENDIX I (CONTINUED)

	Subject	Teacher
4th Period	_____	_____
5th Period	_____	_____
6th Period	_____	_____

Do you regularly participate in an activity in the period from 8:00 to 8:50 in the morning? Please name the activity and describe your role in it.

_____

APPENDIX J

DESCRIPTION OF BARCLAY INVENTORIES

Barclay Classroom Climate Inventory (BCCI)

The BCCI is a pencil and paper instrument which measures self-competency (self-concept), sociometrics, vocational awareness, and teacher expectations. It can be administered by the teacher in about one hour and fifteen minutes. It is appropriate for use with third through seventh grade children and the vocational interest section can be used, with minor modifications of instructions, for students above the seventh grade.

Barclay Learning Needs Inventory (BLNI)

The BLNI is a rating instrument designed to provide feedback to individuals about their problems in learning. The feedback is based on a comparison of the individual profile to his or her group profile and on the comparison of the individual's estimate of his or her problems with that of a rater. The rater can be a fellow student or a teacher, chosen by the individual. The BLNI contains seven scales: (1) self-competency (self-concept), (2) group interaction, (3) self-control, (4) verbal skills, (5) physical energy level, (6) cognitive-motivation, and (7) attitude. Sociometric data are also provided by charting who chooses whom as a rater from among peers. The BLNI was still in the development stage at the time of its use. A few norms from other groups were available but its primary utility was in comparing an individual's score profile with his own group. It is designed for use with junior and senior high school students.

APPENDIX K

EDUCATIONAL PRIORITIES QUESTIONNAIRE:
RESPONSES BY RECIPIENT SUB-GROUP

Item	Recipient Sub-group			F
HOW IMPORTANT IS IT?	Native Parents	Non-Native Parents	Educators	
1. To have small classes?	5.2	5.4	5.8	1.8
2. To have more tax money for education?	5.1	4.7	5.3	1.5
3. To have a large school library?	5.7	5.1	5.6	2.9
4. To have classes for parents on new ways in which their children are being taught?	4.5	4.1	4.5	1.0
5. To have students take field trips to historic Tlingit places?	4.8	3.8	4.6	3.8*
6. For the school buildings to be available for community use after school and on weekends?	4.8	5.3	5.3	.5
7. To have teaching machines?	4.5	3.6	3.1	4.5*
8. For children to spend most of their time in school on projects of their own choice?	3.1	2.4	3.4	3.9*
9. To have reading specialists?	6.1	5.6	6.1	1.8

Note: Probability levels are indicated by asterisk

*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$

a. Items 1 through 75 were rated from no importance (1), through fair importance (4) to greatest importance (7).

b. Items 76 through 83 were yes/no responses. Figures given are percent of sub-group answering yes.

APPENDIX K (CONTINUED)

Item	Recipient Sub-group			F
HOW IMPORTANT IS IT	Native Parents	Non-Native Parents	Educators	
10. For students to have yearly health checkups at school?	5.9	5.5	5.6	.5
11. To have films and television in addition to textbooks for teaching?	5.4	4.8	5.0	1.2
12. To have older children tutoring younger children?	4.6	3.9	4.6	2.2
13. That parents be strict in their discipline of their children?	5.4	6.0	5.8	1.0
14. For students to take part in sports activities?	5.7	5.0	4.6	5.2**
15. For the history and culture of Native Alaskans to be taught in school?	5.1	4.4	5.3	3.9**
16. For children to have homework?	4.6	4.4	4.0	1.7
17. That repairs and maintenance of the schools are good?	5.6	5.8	6.1	1.1
18. For the principal to have the power to freely suspend any troublesome student?	4.9	5.3	5.2	.2
19. For students to finish high school in order to get a good job?	6.3	5.8	5.2	3.0
20. That reading, writing and arithmetic be taught in school?	3.7	4.2	3.8	.8
21. That sex education be taught in school?	5.5	4.6	5.0	2.6
22. To have Alaskan Native principals?	4.7	3.2	3.0	8.0

APPENDIX K (CONTINUED)

Item	Recipient Sub-group			F
HOW IMPORTANT IS IT	Native Parents	Non-Native Parents	Educators	
23. That a new teacher not be given a difficult class?	3.7	3.7	3.8	.1
24. To have tests?	5.8	5.6	4.7	5.3**
25. That students learn about different trades, professions, and businesses to help them decide on their careers?	6.3	6.2	6.2	.1
26. That school administrators seek the best possible teachers by advertising widely and going 'outside' to interview candidates?	6.2	5.8	5.7	.7
27. That teachers be free to deal with pupils as they wish in the classroom?	4.1	4.5	4.5	.5
28. To have drug education programs in school?	5.8	5.9	5.6	.6
29. To have music and art classes?	5.6	5.7	5.6	.1
30. To have classes to help children get along better with others and to reduce racial prejudice?	5.9	4.8	4.8	2.9
31. That parents speak English well?	4.9	4.0	3.7	2.6
32. To have individual sports, which involve more students as actual participants, as well as team sports?	5.3	5.5	5.3	.2
33. To have full time guidance counselors?	5.9	5.3	5.6	1.7
34. For parents to have the right to hire and fire teachers?	3.6	3.2	1.9	6.9**

APPENDIX K (CONTINUED)

Item	Recipient Sub-group			F
HOW IMPORTANT IS IT	Native Parents	Non-Native Parents	Educators	
35. To have modern classroom equipment?	6.0	4.9	5.2	3.7*
36. To have physical education classes?	6.0	5.7	6.0	.8
37. To have a school swimming pool and swimming instructions?	5.8	5.8	5.3	1.1
38. For students who are not behaving to be removed from the classroom?	5.4	5.9	5.3	1.7
39. For three or four year olds to be in nursery school?	4.6	3.1	3.6	4.5*
40. To have special programs in middle school and high school for students who can't read well?	6.3	6.1	6.4	.9
41. To have a team of teachers for one class?	4.2	3.6	3.5	1.1
42. That children meet academic standards in order to be promoted?	5.4	5.7	5.0	2.7
43. That parents decide on the use of school funds?	4.4	3.8	2.7	7.0**
44. To have Head Start Programs?	5.8	4.2	3.8	7.2**
45. That students be taught to use tools?	5.9	5.7	5.6	.3
46. To have school psychologists?	5.3	4.0	4.3	3.5*
47. That parents help children with homework?	5.8	4.8	4.6	4.7*

APPENDIX K (CONTINUED)

Item	Recipient Sub-group			F
HOW IMPORTANT IS IT	Native Parents	Non-Native Parents	Educators	
48. For students to take trips to places where community people work?	5.6	4.9	5.3	1.3
49. For students to take trips to larger cities?	4.9	4.5	4.3	.6
50. To have separate classes for emotionally disturbed children?	4.6	4.6	4.7	.1
51. That local parents be employed in the schools?	5.1	4.5	4.4	1.2
52. That teachers expect their students to be able to go on to college?	4.9	4.9	4.2	1.5
53. For teachers to be selected by examination?	5.5	4.3	2.6	17.0**
54. To have classes in cooking and sewing?	6.0	5.5	5.6	.9
55. To do research to find out what problems children have in learning?	5.6	5.2	5.2	.4
56. For teachers to receive higher salaries?	5.1	4.4	5.3	3.8*
57. For parents to be told by educational specialists the way they can help their children to learn?	6.0	5.2	5.4	2.1
58. To have individualized learning programs so students can learn at their own rate?	5.2	4.9	5.0	.3

APPENDIX K (CONTINUED)

Item	Recipient Sub-group			F
HOW IMPORTANT IS IT	Native Parents	Non-Native Parents	Educators	
59. For representative professionals, businessmen, and skilled workers to visit schools and talk to students about their jobs?	6.1	5.2	5.6	2.6
60. For school officials to insist on what they believe to be necessary for education?	5.2	4.8	4.6	.6
61. To have programs in school to improve student's social and emotional adjustment and raise self-esteem?	5.8	4.9	5.3	2.7
62. To have a Tlingit language and heritage course offered as an elective in high school?	5.1	4.4	5.3	3.8*
63. For parents to have lawyers available to them who could advise them of their rights in the school?	4.1	2.8	2.9	2.8
64. For teachers to be paid for overtime work?	4.4	3.7	4.9	3.1*
65. For teachers to have strict discipline in their classes?	5.6	5.8	5.2	1.9
66. To have Native Alaskan teachers in the schools?	5.1	3.9	4.2	3.5*
67. For student to learn about the history (before and after the white man came) of the Castineau area?	5.1	4.7	5.4	2.1
68. That the teacher correct the child's mistakes whenever they occur?	5.6	5.2	4.0	9.2**

APPENDIX K (CONTINUED)

Item	Recipient Sub-group			F
HOW IMPORTANT IS IT	Native Parents	Non-Native Parents	Educators	
69. That teachers receive training in how to work successfully with children of cultural backgrounds different from their own?	5.9	5.1	4.9	2.3
70. That only professionals make the major school decisions?	3.9	3.1	3.9	2.7
71. For principals to teach classes?	3.7	3.4	3.4	.2
72. To have speech specialists?	5.3	5.0	5.1	.3
73. For the school to have a well-equipped science laboratory?	5.9	5.6	5.7	.6
74. To have Tlingit arts and crafts (dance, weaving, legends, carving, etc.) included in the elementary school curriculum?	5.3	4.1	4.9	3.9*
75. For the school to have social events such as dances?	5.8	4.8	4.8	3.0
76. Gastineau's schools are as good, or better than schools in other places?	88%	74%	85%	
77. The teachers in this school system are, as a group, as good as one could expect them to be?	81%	49%	82%	
78. If Tlingit language, heritage or crafts programs are offered in Gastineau, they should be in the school or outside the school?	82%	54%	83%	

APPENDIX K (CONTINUED)

Item	Recipient Sub-group			F
THE SCHOOL SHOULD OFFER, OR SPONSOR, CLASSES FOR PARENTS ON:	Native Parents	Non-Native Parents	Educators	
79. How to deal with problem teenagers?	80%	72%	88%	
80. Household management and consumer education?	73%	57%	90%	
81. Early childhood education, how to help children develop in the best way physically, emotionally and intellectually from infancy on?	88%	70%	90%	
82. How the schools are run?	83%	72%	86%	
83. The new ways their children are being taught?	94%	86%	91%	

APPENDIX L

SUMMARY OF NEEDS ASSESSMENT

First Priority Needs

Needs	Evidence of Need	Suggested Activities	Federal Funding Source
Improved attitude toward success (Native secondary students) First priority is assigned on the basis of degree of need, the ease with which initial response to need could be taken, and the necessity of rapid program implementation to reach current secondary students	Significantly lower scores on 'locus-of-control' items on questionnaire	Priority 1 Implementation of Tlingit language and culture courses requested by Native secondary students Priority 1 Student participation in planning and implementation of a Tlingit course Priority 2 Career education work experience Priority 2 Providing successful models by inviting successful Natives in all fields to speak to students, Native and non-Native, in elementary and secondary schools	Indian Education Act Part A or B Johnson O'Malley Act ESEA Title IV (career education)
Increased appreciation of ethnic heritage (Native students)	Decision of Indian Parent Committee	Priority 1 Implementation of Tlingit language and culture course in secondary school	Indian Education Act Part A or B

First Priority Needs

Needs	Evidence of Need
First priority is assigned for same reasons as above	Almost unanimous demand by secondary students for Tlingit course Congressional intent as expressed in Ethnic Heritage Act
Improved reading skills (all students, but Native students have priority needs)	Gates-McGinitie scores

(CONTINUED)

Suggested Activities	Federal Funding Source
Priority 1 Increased opportunity for use of Tlingit materials and people resources in elementary and middle school curriculum by (a) assigning coordinator to elementary school and (b) providing inservice time for teachers to integrate materials into regular program	Johnson O'Malley Act (Ethnic Heritage Act) Existing Title III mini-grants for innovation ESEA Title IV (Arts)
Priority 2 Foxfire type program where students use media to record cultural material	
Priority 2 Tlingit Arts and Crafts, including carving for secondary students	
Priority 1 Adding reading specialist to staff	Indian Education Act, Part A

APPENDIX L (CONTINUED)

	Needs	Evidence of Need	Suggested Activities	Federal Funding Source
First Priority Needs		Parent questionnaire and interview responses	Priority 1 Reading aides to assist teachers with individualized programs for Native students with special reading needs	Johnson O'Malley ESEA Title IV (career education)
			Priority 1 High interest courses such as Tlingit course which involve reading and vocabulary practice	Right to Read Title VI National Reading Improvement Program
			Priority 1 Active administrative support for improved reading as district goal	
			Priority 1 Early education and parent education with partial support from school district	
			Priority 2 Inservice time for curriculum development to integrate Tlingit culture, other local materials and career education	
			Priority 2 Career education	

APPENDIX L (CONTINUED)

	Needs	Evidence of Need	Suggested Activities	Federal Funding Source
Second Priority Needs	Increased knowledge of available options in world of work. Second priority is assigned this need because of the time required to implement it as a total program	Parent questionnaire and interview responses The large percentage of Native students and females who don't know what career field they might enter (questionnaire) Disparity between career choices and actual employment opportunity as indicated on questionnaire response	Career Education	ESEA Title IV (Career Education and Womens Educational Equity)
	Counseling and effective education a) More counseling and psychological services	Teacher demand as expressed in interviews Priority of item 33 from parent questionnaire	Relieve counselor of extraneous duties in secondary school so he or she can devote time to consulting with elementary staff. For example, consulting on implementation of suggested programs in Barclay manual	Indian Education Act Johnson O'Malley

APPENDIX L (CONTINUED)

	Needs	Evidence of Need	Suggested Activities	Federal Funding Source
Second Priority Needs		Secondary student interview responses Incidence of problems reported on BLNI Priority given guidance in list of suggested programs for Native students	Seek funding for paraprofessional Native counselor for home-school liaison and drop-out follow-up Joint planning with community for use of state Community Mental Health Funds	
	b) Affective education	Ratings of questionnaire items 28, 30 and 61	Initial effort should be targeted on affective education component in Career Education Program Interested teachers should investigate Ojemann's work by reading Todd's manual listed in footnotes. Programs should be voluntary and start small	
	Early education programs and facilities (all children, but particularly for Native children)	Parent questionnaire responses (particularly Native parents)	Support of local early education projects by school district. Initial support could be in goods, services or facilities rather than funding	Headstart Indian Education Act

APPENDIX L (CONTINUED)

Second Priority Needs

Needs	Evidence of Need	Suggested Activities	Federal Funding Source
	Teacher reports of verbal skills of Native children at entry	Headstart/Homestart programs in community Education for parenthood in appropriate high school courses, with apprenticeships in local pre-school facilities	National Reading Improvement Program
Improved School/Community relations and increased interaction	The percentage of negative responses to yes-no items 1 and 2 (see Table 1)	Use of community members to teach mini-courses at secondary level Increased use of school facilities for community school activities	ESEA Title IV (Community Schools)
	Negative attitudes toward school expressed during interviews	Active recruitment of community members as volunteer short-term aides (as in Impress reading) More school-community cooperative projects providing services affecting youth Parent education courses sponsored by school	

APPENDIX L (CONTINUED)

	Needs	Evidence of Need	Suggested Activities	Federal Funding Source
		Attitude toward school of students, assuming this is affected by parental attitudes		
Second Priority Needs	Improved opportunities for teacher professional growth and opportunity	Teacher interview responses	1. A locally planned and funded system of rewards and recognition for excellence in the classroom and/or contributions to the educational program of the district 2. Orientation for new teachers 3. Greater use of inservice time for in-house program development and exposure to outside experts 4. More community effort to involve and know teachers	Special Projects Act (Title IV) National Reading Improvement Program (Title VII)
Third Priority	Vocational Education	Student request	Expanded facilities with joint utilization by students and adults	Vocational Education Act ESEA Title IV (Community Schools)

APPENDIX M

CONTENT ANALYSIS, INDIAN EDUCATION ACT PROGRAMS, 1974

Personal Needs												
Conduct	31	Social Adjust	101	Delinquency	10	Alcohol/Drugs	23	Self-Image	589	Family Reltns	54	
Suicide	3	Other	16									
Educ'l Needs												
Dropout Rate	255	Lack of Success	75	Absenteeism	187	Low Grades	388	Low Test Scores	178	Low Motiv'n	253	
Lack Basic Skil	106	Other	7									
Health Needs												
Mortal'y Rate	1	Child Disease	2	Diet Deficient	15	Lack Prev'n	21	Psych, Med, Dentl	103	Other	19	
Community Needs												
Unemployment	69	Income Level	118	Adult Illiter.	31	Lack Money, Ed.	135	InterTri'l Prb	6	Interrac'l Prb	58	
Other	16		47									
Curriculum Inadequacies												
Lang Arts	151	Eng-2nd Lng	38	Indian Lang	76	Read/Remedy	291	Liter/Eng	8	Speech/Drama	7	
Libr. Educ.	30	Math/Remed	168	Arts/Crafts	63	Ind'n Stud.	530	Phys. Ed.	100	Voca'l	88	
Music(Non-Ind)	47	Spec. Ed.	28	Science	32	Legal Courses	10	Soc. Stud.	32	Other	24	
Staff Inadequacies												
Understaffed	118	Lack Training	104	Poor Attitude	20	Lack Understand	120	Lack Teachers	191	Other	3	
Background Inadequacies												
Buildings	50	Equipment	324	Mater/Supply	682	Other	2					
Spec. Services Inads												
Test. Program	83	Couns. Pgm	315	Commun. Relns	231	Transp'n	79	School Readi's	20	Tutor'l Pro	232	
Work/Study Pro	36	Other	51									
Grade Levels												
Birth to age 3	3	Preschool	28	K-6	50	K-8	71	K-12	412	1-6	44	
L-8	49	1-12	125	7-12	72	9-12	67	Adult	58	Other	30	

Physical Plant Developmt											
Lease	18	Construc	7	Alter/Renovate	29						
Equipment Development											
Purchase	367	Lease	6	Construct	2	Alter/Renovate	2				
Curriculum Development											
Language Arts	159	Eng/2nd Lang	31	Indian Lang	76	Read/Remedy	290	Math/Remed	166	Basic Skills	84
Literary Arts	12	Speech/Drama	10	Library Sci	22	Arts/Crafts	54	Ind. Stud.	517	Phys. Ed.	104
Voca. Cour	81	Music(Non-Ind)	48	Spec. Ed.	24	Science	29	Leg. Courses	5	Soc. Stud.	33
Career Ed.	79	High Sch Equ	18	Other	19						
Health Prog. Developmt											
Nurs. Service	17	Phys. Exams	37	Speech/Hear	40	Nutrition Probs	23	Dental Care	61	Hyg./Gen BQ	33
Other	34										
Staff Development											
To be enlrged	309	To rec've trg	187	Work w/Cons	337	Employ Parapros	269	To use Tutors	197	Work w/Specs	131
Impro. Comm Re	241	Devel Curric	373	Other	20						
Counseling Prog Developmt											
Soc. Adjust.	122	Handl'g Skills	40	Family Rela	85	Self-Image Conc	492	School Attit	323	Voca'l Coun	164
Other	10										
Gifted/Creat	16	Remed/Slow	183	Spec. Needs	421	Interested Stud	160	All Ind. Stud	628	Sel Ind Stud	46
Sel. Student	27	Adult Ind'ns	55	Other		Staff Teach Ind	81				
Instructional Modes											
Std Classr	119	Guest Spkrs	98	Individ'd	308	Audio-Visual	269	Tutor Prog	255	Field trips	146
On-Job Trng	38	Ind'n Stud Ct	40	Other	48		97				
Eval'n Thrust											
Educ. Change	657	Staff Change	38	Pers'l Growth	384	Impact on Comm	141	Other	7		
Eval'n Techniques											
Reports	172	Observ/Rt	238	Quest'res	135	Tests	352	Job Plcment	22	Cont'g Empl	173
Stud. Progres	187	Other	23								

REFERENCES CITED

REFERENCES CITED

Anderson, L. School reform, educational change, and public policy. Final report of the summer institute on the improvement and reform of American education, Department of Health, Education & Welfare Pub. No. (OE) 74-12008, 1974.

Arnold, R. D. Alaska Native Land Claims. Alaska Native Foundation, 515 D Street, Anchorage, Alaska, 1976.

Bailey, S. K. The Office of Education and the Education Act of 1965. In M. W. Kirst (Ed.), The politics of education at the local, state and federal levels. Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1970.

Baldridge, J. V., & Deal, T. E. (Eds.). Managing change in educational organizations; sociological perspectives, strategies, and case studies. Berkeley: McCutchan, 1975.

Barclay, J. R. The Barclay classroom climate inventory: a users manual. Lexington, Ky.: Educational Skills Development, Inc., 1974.

Barclay, J. R. The Barclay learning inventory. Lexington, Ky: Educational Skills Development, Inc., April 1975.

Barker, R. B. Big school--small school: studies of the effects of high school size upon the behavior and experiences of students. Kansas: University of Kansas, Midwest Psychological Field Station, 1962.

Barth, F. (Ed.) Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1969.

Bateson, G., Jackson, D., Haley, J., & Weakland, J. Toward a theory of schizophrenia. Behavioral Science, 1956, i, 251-64.

Bidwell, C. E. The school as a formal organization. In J. March (Ed.), Handbook of organizations. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965.

Bigelow, M. A. Discovery and diffusion in pioneer schools. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1947.

Biglin, J. E. A study of parental attitudes and values toward education on the Navajo and Hopi reservations, Part II, Parental attitudes. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 062071)

Brislin, R. W., Lonner, W. J., & Thorndike, R. M. Cross-cultural research methods. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973.

Burns, A. An anthropologist at work: field perspectives on applied ethnography and an independent research firm. Council on Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 6(4), November 1975, 28-33.

Campbell, D. T., & Fiske, D. W. Convergent and discriminant validation by the multitrait-multimethod matric. Psychological Bulletin, 56 (2), March 1959, 81-105.

Carlson, R. O. School superintendents, and adoption of modern math: A social structure profile. In M. B. Miles (Ed.), Innovation in education. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964.

Cibulka, J. G. Measuring formal citizen participation in educational programs. The Generator, March 1974, 4-12.

Clark, M., Kaufman, S., & Pierce, R. C. Explorations of acculturation: Toward a model of ethnic identity. Human Organization, Fall 1976, 35(3), 231-38.

Clifton, R. A. Self concept and attitudes; a comparison of Canadian Indian and non-Indian students. Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, November 1975, 12(4), part 2, 577-84.

Clinton, C. A. On bargaining with the devil: contract ethnography and accountability in fieldwork. Council on Anthropology and Education Quarterly, May 1976, 8(2), 25-28.

Codere, H. Kwakiutl. In E. H. Spicer (Ed.), Perspectives in American Indian culture change. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Coleman, J. Equality of educational opportunity. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

Coleman, J. S. The adolescent society. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961.

Commission on Cross-cultural Education. Time for a change in the education of Alaskan Natives. Center for Northern Education, Fairbanks: University of Alaska, December 1971.

Corwin, R. G. Reform and organizational survival; the teacher corps as an instrument of educational change. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973.

Darnell, F., Hecht, K., & Orvik, J. Pre-higher education in the unorganized borough: analysis and recommendations. Center for Northern Education, Fairbanks: University of Alaska, December 1974.

Drucker, P. The Native brotherhoods: Modern intertribal organizations on the Northwest coast. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing

Drucker, P. Indians of the Northwest Coast. American Museum Science Books edition, Garden City, New York: The Natural History Press, 1963. (Originally published, 1955, McGraw-Hill.)

Education Commission of the States. Index to the education amendments of 1974. Denver, Colorado: Author, 1974.

Eidheim, H. When Ethnic Identity is a Social Stigma. In F. Barth (Ed.), Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1969, pp. 39-57.

Emmons, G. T. The whale house of the Chilkat. American Museum of Natural History, Anthropology Papers, 19, 1-33. Quoted in R. P. Porter (Ed.), Report on population and resources of Alaska at the Eleventh Census: 1890. Washington, D.C., 1893.

Everhart, R. B. Problems of doing fieldwork in educational evaluation. Council on Anthropology and Education Quarterly, Summer 1975, 34(2), 205-15.

Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska. Alaska Natives and the Land. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1968.

Fields, C. R. Alaskan Natives and caucasians: A comparison of educational aspirations and actual enrollment. Juneau: University of Alaska, March 1975.

Ford Foundation, The. A foundation goes to school. New York: Ford Foundation, Office of Reports, 1972.

Foster, G. M. Applied anthropology. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969.

Fuchs, E., & Havighurst, R. J. To live on this earth: American Indian education. New York: Doubleday & Company, 1972.

Gallup, G. H. The Gallup polls of attitudes toward education, 1969-1973. Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa Publications, 1974.

Gates, A. I., & MacGinitie, W. H. Gates-MacGinities reading tests teacher's manual. New York: Teachers College Press, Teachers College Columbia University, 1965.

Gearing, F. Structures of censorship, usually inadvertent: studies in a cultural theory of education. Council on Anthropology and Education Quarterly, May 1975, 7(2), 1-9.

Getches, D. A primer on laws important to Alaskan native education. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1976.

Gibson, M. A., Approaches to multicultural education in the United States: Some concepts and assumptions. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, November 1976, 7(4), 7-18.

Gittel, M., Hollander, T. E., & Vincent, W. S. Fiscal status and school policy making in six large school districts. In M. W. Kirst (Ed.), The politics of education at the local, state and federal levels. Berkeley: McCutchan, 1970, 33-73.

Goldman, R. Cross-cultural adaptation of a program to involve parents in their children's learning. Child Welfare, 1973, LII(8), 521-25.

Gordon, M. M. Assimilation in American life. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Gottesfeld, H. Manual: Educational values assessment questionnaire (E.V.A.). New York: Behavioral Publications, 1973.

Greeley, A. M., & Sheatsky, P. B. Attitudes toward racial integration. Scientific American, 1971, 225(6), 13-20.

Greer, C. The great school legend; a revisionist interpretation of American public education. New York: Basic Books, 1972.

Gross, N., Giacquinta, J., & Bernstein, M. Implementing organizational innovations. New York: Basic Books, 1971.

Havighurst, R., & Neugarten, B. Society and education. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1962.

Hawthorne, H. B., Belshaw, C. S., & Jamieson, S. M. The Indians of British Columbia. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958.

Hearn, N. E. The adoption rate of Title III innovations after the end of federal funding. Educational Technology, 1970, 10(11), 43-45.

Herriotte, R., & Hodgkins, B. Social context and the school: an open system analysis of social and educational change. Rural Sociology, June 1959, 34.

Hewett, E. L. Ethnic factors in education. American Anthropologist, 1905, 7, 1-16.

Hilfiker, L. R. Factors relating to the innovativeness of school systems. The Journal of Educational Research, 1970, 64(1), 43-45.

Hopkins, T. R. The federal government as agent of cross-cultural education in Alaska. In F. Darnell (Ed.), Education in the north. Fairbanks: University of Alaska, Arctic Institute of North American and the Center for Northern Educational Research, 1972.

House, E. R. The politics of educational innovation. Berkeley: McCutchan, 1974.

Hunter, D. E., & Whittin, P. Encyclopedia of anthropology. New York: Harper & Row, 1976.

Indian Education Act, Rules and Regulations, Section 186.18. Federal Register, 38(129), Friday, July 6, 1973.

Inequality in education, Indian Education issue, No. 7, February 10, 1971. Center for Law and Education, Cambridge, Mass.

Jenks, C. Inequality: a reassessment of the effect of family and schooling in America. New York: Basic Books, 1972.

Jones, J. Bridging research and policy. APA Monitor, May 1977, pp. 1, 20.

Kaplan, D., & Manners, R. A. Culture theory. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1972.

Kirst, M. Federal influences in education. In C. W. Gordon (Ed.), Uses of the sociology of education; 73d yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

Krause, A. The Tlingit Indians: Results of a trip to the Northwest Coast of America and the Bering Straits (E. Gunther, trans.). Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1956. (Originally published, 1885)

Kunkel, R. C., Thompson, J. C., & McElhinney, J. H. School related alienation: perceptions of secondary school students. Paper presented at American Educational Research Association 57th Annual Meeting, New Orleans, Louisiana, February 25 - March 1, 1973.

Landes, R. Educators from an anthropological perspective. In J. I. Roberts & S. K. Akinsanya (Eds.), Schooling in the cultural context. New York: David McKay, 1976, 401-418.

Lesser, A. Education and the future of tribalism in the United States: the case of the American Indian. Social Service Review, 1961, 35, 135-43.

Lurie, N. O. The contemporary American Indian scene. In E. B. Leacock & N. O. Lurie (Eds.), North American Indians in historical perspective. New York: Random House, 1971.

Lutz, F. W., & Iannaccone, L. Understanding educational organizations: a field study approach. Columbus, Ohio: Charles Merrill, 1969.

Malinowski, B., Magic, science and religion and other essays. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1954.

Manning, B. A. The "trouble shooting" checklist: A manual to aid educational change agents in the prediction of organization change potential. The Research and Development Center for Teacher Education, The University of Texas at Austin, November 1973.

Marx, M. H., & Hillix, W. A. Systems and theories in psychology. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963.

McCarty, D. J., & Ramsey, C. E. The school managers. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Co., 1971.

McClellan, C. Culture change and native trade in Southern Yukon territory (Doctoral dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1950).

McClellan, C. The interrelations of social structure with Northern Tlingit ceremonialism. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 1954, 10, 75-95.

Meriam, L., Brown, R., Cloud, H., Dale, E., Duke, E., Edwards, H., McKenzie, F., Mork, M., Ryan, W. C., & Spillman, W. The problem of Indian administration. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1928.

Miles, M. B. (Ed.). Innovation in education. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964.

Miller, P., & Miller, L. G. Lost heritage of Alaska, the adventures and art of the Alaskan coastal Indians. New York: Bonanza Books, 1967.

Mondale, W. F. Excerpts from remarks on submitting the Indian Education Act to Congress. Inequality in Education, No. 7, Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Law and Education, Harvard University, 1971.

Mort, P. R. Studies in educational innovation from the Institute of Administrative Research: an overview. In M. B. Miles (Ed.), Innovation in education. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964.

Moynihan, D. P., & Mosteller, F. On equality of educational opportunity. New York: Random House, 1972.

Naylor, L. L. Applied anthropology: Approaches to the using of anthropology. Human Organization, 32(4), 1973, 363-370.

Naylor, L. L. Culture change and development in the Balim valley, Irian Jaya, Indonesia. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, 1974.

Naylor, L. L. Personal communication, 1976.

Naylor, L. L. Lecture notes, Anthropology 493, 1977.

Nelson, H., Giannotta, F., & Lundin, S. Multi-disciplinary evaluation of educational innovations: an anthropological perspective. Paper presented to the American Educational Research Association Symposium in Educational Evaluation, April 1974.

Niehoff, A. H. (Ed.). A casebook of social change. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1966.

Oberg, K. The social economy of the Tlingit Indians. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1973.

Oettinger, A., & Marks, S. Run, computer run. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969.

Oswalt, W. H. This land was theirs (2d ed.). New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966.

Paine, R. A theory of patronage and brokerage. In R. Paine (Ed.), Patrons and Brokers in the East Arctic. Canada: Memorial University of Newfoundland, Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Toronto Press, 1971, 9-21.

Pelto, P. J. Anthropological research; the structure of inquiry. New York: Harper & Row, 1970.

Parker, S., Eskimo and Indian values and motivation for education in three selected Alaskan villages. In C. K. Ray, J. Ryan, & S. Parker (Eds.), Alaskan Native secondary school dropouts; A research report. Fairbanks: University of Alaska, 1962.

Paul, B. D. Interview techniques and field relationships. In A. L. Kroeber (Ed.), Anthropology Today. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.

Porter, R. P. (Ed.). Report on the population and resources of Alaska at the Eleventh Census: 1890. Washington, D.C., 1893.

Powdermaker, H. Stranger and friend: the way of an anthropologist. New York: W. W. Norton, 1966.

Redfield, R., Linton, R., & Herskovits, M. Memorandum for the study of acculturation. American Anthropologist, 38(1), January-March, 1936.

Report; A summary of the Kennedy report. Inequality in Education, No. 7, Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Law and Education, Harvard University, 1971.

Rist, R. C. Student social class and teacher expectations--self-fulfilling prophecy in the ghetto. Harvard Educational Review, 1970, 40(3), 411-423.

Rogers, E. M. Diffusion of innovations. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962.

Rogers, E. M., & Shoemaker, F. F. Communication of innovations. New York: The Free Press, 1971.

Rogers, G. Alaska in transition. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1960.

Rosenthal, R. Experimenter effects in behavioral research. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966.

Rotter, J. B. Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement. Psychological Monographs, 1966, 80 (1, Whole No. 609).

Sarason, S. B. The culture of the school and the problem of change. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1971.

Scott, W. C., & Wertheimer, M. Introduction to psychological research. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1962.

Siegel, B. J. Social structure, social change, and education in rural Japan: a case study. In G. D. Spindler (Ed.), Education and culture. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963.

Sindell, P. S. Anthropological approaches to the study of education. Review of Educational Research, 1969, 39, 593-605.

Singleton, J. Implications of education as cultural transmission. In G. D. Spindler (Ed.), Education and cultural process: Toward an anthropology of education. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974.

Smith, L. M., & Pohland, P. A. Education, technology, and the rural highlands. In R. Kraft, L. M. Smith, P. A. Pohland, C. J. Brauner, & C. Gjerde, Four evaluation examples: anthropological, economic, narrative, and portrayal. AERA Monograph Series on Curriculum Evaluation (No. 7), Chicago: Rand McNally, 1974.

Spencer, R. F., & Jennings, J. D. The Native Americans. New York: Harper & Row, 1965.

Spicer, E. H. Perspectives in American Indian culture change. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Spicer, E. H. Indigenismo in the United States, 1870-1960. In D. E. Walker (Ed.), The emergent Native Americans. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1972.

Spindler, G. D. The Role of the school administrator. In G. D. Spindler (Ed.), Education and culture. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963.

Spindler, G. D. (Ed.). Education and cultural process. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974. (a)

Spindler, G. D. From omnibus to linkages: cultural transmission models. Council on Anthropology and Education Quarterly, February 1974, 5(1), 1-7. (b)

Spindler, G., & Spindler, L. Researching the perception of cultural alternatives: the instrumental activities inventory. In M. E. Spiro (Ed.), Context and meaning in cultural anthropology. New York: Free Press, 1965.

Spindler, L. Culture change and modernization: Mini-models and case studies. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1977.

Spring, J. The sorting machine: National educational policy since 1945. New York: David McKay, 1976.

Steward, J. H. Theory of culture change the methodology of multilinear evolution. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972. (Originally published in 1955.)

Stromquist, N. P., Penaloza, N., & Johnson, R. Who participates? A field study of participation in planning in a school district. Palo Alto Unified School District, Palo Alto, California 94306, July 1976.

Sundquist. J. L. For the young, schools. In M. W. Kirst (Ed.), The politics of education at the local, state and federal levels. Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1970, pp. 326-356.

Szasz, M., Education and the American Indian: The road to self-determination, 1928-1973. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974.

Thomas, R. K. Pan-Indianism. In D. Walker (Ed.), The emergent Native Americans. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1972.

Tindall, B. A. The cultural transmissive functions of physical education. Council on Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 6(2), May 1975, 10-12.

Trimble, J. Say goodbye to the Hollywood Indian: Results of a nationwide survey of the self-image of the American Indian. A paper read at the American Psychological Association Convention, August 1974, New Orleans, Louisiana. APA Monitor, November 1974.

U.S. Senate. Special Subcommittee on Indian Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Ninety-first Congress. Senate report 91-501, Indian education: A national tragedy, a national challenge. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969.

Van Stone, J. From a lecture presented at the University of Alaska, 1976.

Wax, M. L. Peer societies of Indian children and their relationship with education problems: A position paper. St. Louis, Mo.: Washington University, April 1970. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 057 952)

Webb, E. J., Campbell, D. T., Schwartz, R. E., & Sechrest, L. Unobtrusive measures: Nonreactive research in the social sciences. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966.

Whyte, W. F. Street corner society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.

Wolcott, H. F. A Kwakiutl village and school. New York: Rinehart and Winston, 1967.

Wolcott, H. F. Criteria for an ethnographic approach to research in schools. Human Organization, 1975 (a), 34(2), 111-126.

Wolcott, H. F. Fieldwork in schools: where the tradition of deferred judgement meets a subculture obsessed with evaluation. Council on Anthropology and Education Quarterly, February 1975 (b), 6(1), 17-20.

Woods, C. M. Culture change. Dubuque, Iowa: W. C. Brown Co., 1975.

Yudof, M. G. Federal funds for public schools. Inequality in Education, 1971, No. 7, Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Law and Education.